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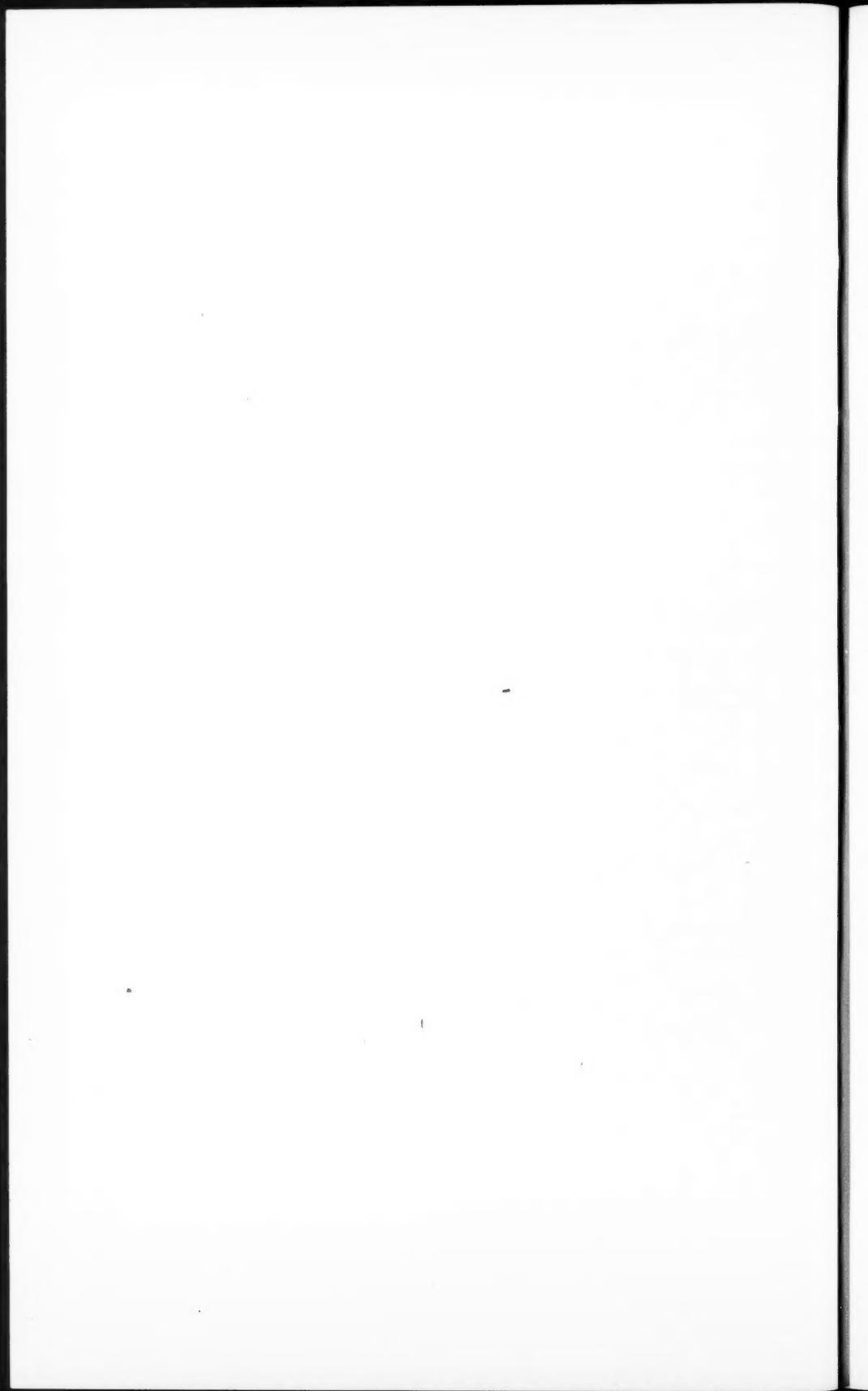
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CONTENTS

	Page
HISTORY OF DAIRYING IN MICHIGAN—LELAND W. LAMB	413
PIONEER SCANDINAVIAN SETTLEMENT IN MICHIGAN—CARLTON C. QUALEY	435
EARLY DENOMINATIONAL ACADEMIES AND COLLEGES IN MICH- IGAN—WILLIS F. DUNBAR	451
HISTORICAL NOTES	467
AMONG THE BOOKS	481



MICHIGAN HISTORY MAGAZINE

Vol. XXIV

AUTUM NUMBER

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HISTORY OF DAIRYING IN MICHIGAN

BY LELAND W. LAMB, *formerly with the Department of Dairy Husbandry, Michigan State College*

DAIRYING in every land is an industry which has increased in importance as the population has become more dense. From primitive attempts to secure milk from cattle which were never intended to be milk cows, this industry has reached a stage, in recent years, where the supply of high quality milk and milk products is available in ample quantities for the nourishment of not only the farmer's family but the families of that vast army of industrial laborers who have come to live within our shores.

From a primitive art in which the artists were the wives and daughters of pioneer farmers; the barn a dark, damp stable housing all manner of domestic animals; the creamery, the crowded kitchen of the pioneer's log cabin; the dairy industry in this state has grown into a science, employing the genius of highly educated men in all its branches. Today the dairy industry stands as a monument to the inventive genius of the scientific age. Michigan's cows are housed in modern, well ventilated barns, erected especially for dairy cows. These cows have been freed from that great plague, tuberculosis. They are fed scientifically balanced rations, their milk is handled under the supervision of boards of health, processed

This article was written while the author was Instructor in Dairy Husbandry at Michigan State College, which will explain references to matters current at that time. Recent revision made at the College brings it down to date.

in up-to-date plants, and in many cases delivered sweet and fresh to the ultimate consumer as far away from the point of production as the distance across the state.

The story of how this marvelous transformation has come about reads as a romance of the struggle of a sturdy pioneer people inspired by a will to provide the best for themselves and their families.

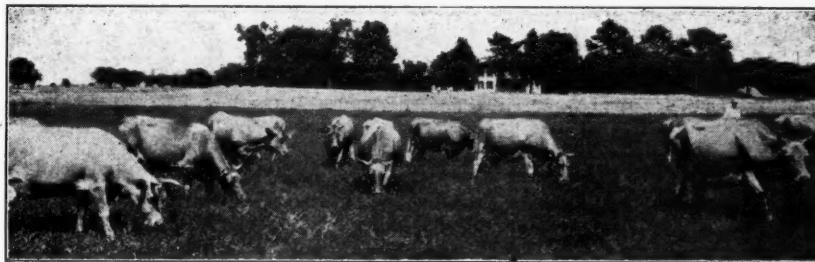
Pioneer Dairying. The first settlers in Michigan were of French descent, people who were not acquainted with dairying. Their main occupation was hunting, fishing, and trapping. Bela Hubbard, in his *Memorials of a Half Century* states, "The stock of the French farmer consisted almost exclusively of horses and that dwarfed, hardy race, so well known as Canadian ponies". There was no one to whom to sell any surplus dairy products had there been such, so there was no dairying as it is known today. The records are obscure as to the numbers and the nature of the "neat cattle" which were kept by these early French pioneers.

It can be taken for granted that they owned some cattle, for cattle have been man's constant companion since the dawn of history. It can be assumed, moreover, that these cattle were a heterogeneous, nondescript breed, which later became known as "natives". They were neither first class beef cattle nor good dairy cattle. They furnished some milk for the farmer's family, meat for his table, and oxen for his plow.

Toward the middle of the nineteenth century, especially after the completion of the Erie Canal, settlers began to pour into Michigan from New York and the New England states. Some of them brought cattle with them. By far the greater number, however, had barely enough money to secure passage for themselves, their families, and the barest necessities in the way of household goods and clothes. These people came to Michigan as farmers. Theirs was a determination to create for themselves farm homes in the Michigan wilderness. Naturally they acquired, in the course of time, some of the "native" cattle. These cattle served the same purpose they had served for their previous owners, the French settlers.

Little is known of their milk producing ability, but it must have been inferior, for they were kept more for meat and oxen than for dairy purposes.

The story of Michigan agriculture parallels the story of agricultural development in any new territory. First the settlers began raising the cereal grains. After several years of raising wheat and more wheat they came to the realization that the fertility of their land was becoming exhausted. Thereupon followed a stage of general farming, a combina-



tion of livestock (cattle, sheep, and hogs) with the cereal grains. As the population became more dense, dairying assumed an ever-increasing role of importance.

Early Stages of Specialized Dairying. The first public exponent of improved livestock in Michigan was the farm paper *The Michigan Farmer*. It opened its columns to the reader in 1845. It advocated the importation into Michigan of Shorthorn and Devon cattle as a means of improving the "native" stock of that time. Its pages were full of stories by subscribers of their success with their cattle and of their methods of handling them. An example of the interest this paper took in improved stock is given in Volume 3 of its issues where the editor in reporting a sale of Shorthorn Cattle in Albany, New York, lamented the fact that none of them came to Michigan.

This periodical also printed as many articles as possible on buttermaking, and such subjects as, "Winter Dairy", "To

Cure Butter", "To Remove the Turnip Flavor from Butter", etc. These articles were all printed in the "Domestic Economy" column, a department for farm women.

An article on "Keeping Cows in Winter, Important Counsel" decried the then current method of "suffering their milch cows to come out in spring in low condition." In 1846, in answer to an inquiry as to the best breed of cattle for use in the dairy, the editor suggested that "probably some of the imported breeds are undoubtedly far superior to the average of our native stock provided the farmer is prepared to bestow upon them the same amount of care and keep to which they are accustomed. But if these animals were exposed to the rough and tumble treatment to which our native stock is in most cases subjected, they would degenerate—until, then, the farmer is prepared to keep his stock well, both as regards food and shelter, the best that can be done is to improve the native stock by careful selection and breeding with reference to dairy qualities." "Improved short-horned Durham", Devon, and Ayrshire were breeds mentioned.

It must be remembered that at that time Michigan farmers were days and weeks away from any sizable market. They were still trying to subdue the native forests. They had no organized leadership in improved methods of production or manufacture of dairy products. They had no breeds of strictly dairy cattle with which to work, no scientific information on breeding or feeding, no information on the value of dairy products as a food, and no practical method of determining a cow's production of butterfat. There was no efficient method of separating cream from skim milk, and no general information on refrigeration so that butter and cheese could be transported to the far distant market. The science of Bacteriology had not been developed, so no information was available on ways of keeping dairy products.

Before the importation of strictly dairy cattle Michigan dairying was a by-product industry. It was an art handed down from generation to generation. Butter and cheese were made on the farm by farm women. They did their best to

make good butter. But they had little or no scientific information as to why they made butter as they did. Theirs was a "rule of thumb" method.

Dairying in Michigan was late getting started as a major enterprise, as indicated by an article in Volume XV of *The Michigan Farmer* for December, 1857, on "Feeding Milk Cattle". In this article it was reported that Mr. A. Y. Moore of Kalamazoo had been obliged to import 3,000 pounds of butter during the previous winter from Indiana. He had been unable to secure enough butter locally because farmers did not make enough for home supply. The article stated, "It is a well known fact that we import a very large proportion of the cheese consumed in this state".

It was during this period that some of the more enterprising farmers became interested in improved livestock. Mr. A. Y. Moore imported five head of purebred Shorthorns from Ohio. Some of the farmers were beginning to produce cheese as a commercial enterprise. Herein lie the beginnings of our commercial dairy enterprise.

The situation at that time is illustrated by an article in Volume XIV of *The Michigan Farmer* for 1856, entitled "A Dairy Farm". It reports a visit of the editor to the farm of a Mr. Fairman of the town of Canton. "He had 80 head of milk cows and meant to increase his herd to 100 head. He would have already done this but *experienced great difficulty in getting cows*. In looking over the herd we were much struck with the lack of uniformity in size, shape, and general characteristics; and it was evident that there is yet open a very fine field for some intelligent and enterprising breeder to lay the foundation of a breed of cattle which shall be reliable milkers." Mr. Fairman was one of the first to make cheese on a commercial scale.

Thus began Michigan's cheese industry. The native cows of this time usually freshened in the spring and were dry by November. It was not considered possible to keep a cow producing milk throughout the winter months, much less to regulate the time of freshening so that a cow would freshen in

the fall. Cows were fed corn stalks, timothy hay, and in some cases a little bran during the winter. They were of second consideration to the horses on the farms of 1840 to 1875.

During these years *The Michigan Farmer* kept continually urging the farmers to improve their cattle. The Michigan Agricultural Society was formed in 1849 "to promote the improvement of agriculture and its kindred arts throughout the state of Michigan". One of its methods was by sponsoring a state fair where could be shown the finest products of farm and field. The premium list for this fair in 1849 included Durhams, Devons, and Natives.

Along with the act to establish a State Agricultural Society, an act was passed appropriating "\$400 to be expended for premiums at the first annual fair to be held next fall". The state legislature has continued this state aid in varying amounts to our state fair until 1933.

The Michigan Farmer in November, 1853, contained an article with drawings of "Dairy Buildings", indicating the growing impression that dairy products perhaps should be manufactured in specialized rooms if not in separate buildings altogether.

Michigan farmers read about Jersey cows in an article in *The Michigan Farmer* of September, 1852. Such articles were but the forerunners to a changed condition, sowing seeds of discontent with existing conditions, which resulted in the great expansion of the dairy industry. The farmers learned that there were better ways to do things, better breeds of livestock, etc. In line with their dogged determination to better themselves they were quick to adopt new improved methods as soon as they were proved practical.

The Michigan Agricultural Society was clamoring for a college where agriculture and its kindred arts could be taught. Why not educate the farm boys for the profession of farming as well as the city boys (and many farm boys as well) for medicine, law, theology, and the classics.

It is not the purpose here to dwell upon the history of Michigan State College but it has had such an intimate connection

with all things agricultural ever since it opened its doors in 1857 that a history of any branch of agriculture would be incomplete if the colored thread of the history of the College were not woven into the warp of such a narrative.

The report of the tenth Annual Michigan State Fair (1858) found in *The Michigan Farmer* gives an indication of the status of the dairy industry in the state at the time the Michigan Agricultural College came into being.

The premium lists for the fair of 1858 included Shorthorns, Devons, Herefords, Ayrshires, and "Alderneys". The prize list shows that there were no "Alderneys" present.

Included in the premium lists of these early fairs was a class for "milch cows", nothing being said about age or breed. The committee in commenting on the "milch cows" shown at the 1858 fair said, "We find the entries in this class very limited, and none of those worthy of much note . . . , but would recommend that a second premium be awarded to No. 128". The editorial accompanying this report lamented the fact that Michigan farmers were not interested in dairy cows, by the following statement, "It is astonishing that the class of milch cows are not better represented at our State Fairs. It is seldom that we see an animal that may be considered a first rate milker".

The records of the introduction of purebred dairy cattle into the state are somewhat obscure. *The Michigan Farmer* for March 1, 1849, contains an article on the Ayrshire cow, stating, "she meets the most important qualification of a cow. The most valuable quality which a dairy cow can possess is that she yields much milk, and that of a butyrateous or caseous nature . . .".

The report of the first State Fair, 1849, contained in *The Michigan Farmer* for October 1, 1849, states, "Of neat cattle there was a very good assortment. There were many fine Durhams, Devons, and native bulls. We noticed some fine Devon cows. There were two or three Ayrshire cows and a yearling Ayrshire bull from Canada. Mr. D. valued his cows at \$60.00 each". Ten years later at the 1859 State Fair there were two

Ayrshire bulls on exhibition indicating that the Ayrshire was not readily received by Michigan farmers of that time.

About 1850 interest in the improvement of livestock became more apparent in many parts of the country. The importation of the dairy breeds was beginning. It took some time, however, for any of these cattle to get as far west as Michigan. Until the Michigan farmer was able to secure a strictly dairy animal, his progress as a dairyman was limited. Even so, the book, *Statistics of Michigan*, shows a production of 7,056,478 pounds of butter and 1,112,646 pounds of cheese for the year 1849.

Even though the Michigan Agricultural College was opened in 1857, it took several years, under the limited appropriation available to make a very great impression on the forest which stood on the site. The establishment of a herd of cattle at the institution had to follow the clearing of some of the land. The first purebred cattle purchased for the institution were Shorthorns and Devons, one bull and two cows of each breed being purchased in 1863, by Dr. Manley Miles, professor of practical agriculture. It was in 1867 that the first dairy cattle were purchased for the College. These cattle were Ayrshires, and when compared to the College Devons and Shorthorns for dairy purposes made a very favorable impression upon the people. In this way the College started exerting an influence in a dairy way upon the people of the state.

It was at this time that the making of butter and cheese was emerging from a kitchen proposition to commercial proportions. The first cheese factory on record was established at Hudson by Rufus Baker in 1866. Samuel Horton opened a cheese factory four days after Rufus Baker and started the manufacture of cheese in his plant. There being no known method of determining the value of milk for cheese making except by the actual making of cheese, it was impossible to pay the farmer for his milk on a basis of quality, for it was impossible to make a separate batch of cheese from each patron's milk. Hence, many injustices were committed in the matter of paying for milk.

Commercial Dairying. The opening of creameries and cheese factories offered the farmer a chance to sell his milk or cream without going through the laborious process of making the cheese or butter, himself. These methods of marketing milk grew in popularity. The farmers of that day were kept busy from dawn until dark tilling their soil and harvesting their crops. The opportunity to sell milk without having to make butter came as a bonanza to the farmer of 1870 and later. Hence, the idea developed of one man producing the milk while another processed it. One farmer could not cultivate his farm, and churn butter or make cheese, at the same time. So we find the beginning of a division of labor in the dairy industry which has produced two distinct branches or lines of endeavor—dairy production and dairy manufacture.

The early cheese factories operated only in the summer and fall months, as dairying was a seasonal enterprise. The cows freshened in the spring and continued to produce milk for six or seven months. The annual report of the Maple Grove Cheese Factory at South Farmington for 1873 shows this condition. It operated for seven months, May to November, inclusive. This factory produced one pound of cheese from 9,702 pounds of milk. Their average price for milk to the producer was \$1.019 per hundred weight. The approximate average value of milk per cow was \$45.

Even under these conditions dairying in the state developed quite rapidly as is indicated by the following table taken from the census reports for 1854, 1864, and 1874.

	1854	1864	1874
Number of milk cows.....	139,299	225,188	321,732
Pounds of butter—preceding year.	7,926,552	13,300,139	27,972,117
Pounds of cheese—preceding year ..	779,530	1,580,945	4,101,912
Butter and Cheese factories			36

The butter produced in 1873 was valued at \$6,713,308, while the cheese was valued at \$591,358.

Lenawee County may be considered the birthplace of commercial dairying in Michigan as the first cheese factories were

established there. By 1874 there were ten such factories in Lenawee County, five in Wayne, and four in Genesee.

The years 1870 to 1880 saw the establishment of many large herds of purebred dairy cattle from which were disseminated seed stock to neighboring farmers and dairymen. In 1877 there were nine "Alderneys" exhibited at the State Fair. The first Holsteins were shown at the State Fair in 1878. The number of Holsteins and Jerseys increased very rapidly during these years. There was good market for surplus stock and the breeders were anxious to exhibit their stock. At the 1879 State Fair there were 26 Holsteins and 56 Jerseys on exhibition. By 1884 the numbers had grown to 179 Holsteins and 188 Jerseys.

By this time *The Michigan Farmer* had added a breeders' directory to its columns. The early breeders made use of this directory to advertise their stock. Michigan farmers were becoming dairymen since they were acquiring dairy cattle with which to produce dairy products. Out-of-state breeders were realizing the opening in Michigan for their purebred dairy cattle and started exhibiting at the State Fair and advertising in the state papers.

Commenting upon the rapid increase of Jerseys and Holsteins *The Michigan Farmer* in reviewing the 1882 State Fair stated, "In the cattle department the exhibit was a credit to the breeders of the state, and the surprising manner in which the new breeds have come to the front shows that Michigan stockmen are both enterprising and energetic. The Short-horns led in the number of entries, but the Holsteins followed closely and the Jerseys were not far behind the latter. There was a herd of Guernseys on the ground, the first that has been brought into this state. In the Holstein classes, the 'Unadilla Valley Association of West Edmeston, New York' showed eleven head of cows and heifers and three bulls. They got first herd."

During this period the breeders of the different breeds of dairy cattle were organizing themselves into national associations for the purpose of promoting the respective breeds.

Thus the purebred dairy cow was provided with a sponsor which extolled her merits to the farmers of the nation to the end that she assumed an ever-increasing role in raising the production of milk and dairy products on our farms.

The Dutch Friesian Association of America held its eighth annual convention in Detroit in 1885, which did much to arouse local interest in that breed in the minds of Michigan people. That year this organization united with the Holstein association to form the Holstein-Friesian Association of America. This organization, the American Guernsey Cattle Club, the American Jersey Cattle Club, and the Ayrshire Breeders Association advertised the remarkable performances of their cows in butter tests. In this way farmers and dairy-men were stimulated toward improved cattle and higher milk and butter production.

In Michigan, further, the Holstein-Friesian and the Jersey soon displaced the Ayrshire as the leading dairy cow in the state. Commenting on this point *The Michigan Farmer* stated, "The day of the Ayrshire seems to have passed, and this once popular dairy breed is giving way to its more popular competitors—the Jersey and the Dutch-Friesian (Holstein-Friesian)".

Michigan farmers began to grade up their herds of native and Shorthorn cows into dairy cattle by the use of dairy sires. Many Michigan farmers also began to breed purebred dairy cattle. Thus Michigan was in a position to make more rapid progress in dairying because she was provided with good dairy cows, the foundation of successful dairying. These were days of great expansion in this new agricultural enterprise. Information and encouragement were coming from all directions and made possible the transformation of dairying from an art into a science.

Dairying on a Scientific Foundation. The demonstrations of the milk producing ability of Holstein and Jersey cows beginning about 1878 stimulated studies of production methods, particularly feeding and breeding. The State Agricultural College early assumed a lead in this activity.

The creameries and cheese factories soon learned that there was a vast difference in the quality of milk and cream. They began to study the production methods of their best patrons and to educate their other patrons to these improved methods. The same was true of the methods within their plants.

Mr. E. A. Stowe of Grand Rapids, realizing the advantages of an organization of dairymen for the mutual exchange of ideas on methods of production and manufacture, called a meeting of interested dairymen in Grand Rapids in February, 1885. At that time an organization known as The Michigan Dairymen's Association was formed, with Mr. Stowe as secretary. This organization was a boon to improved dairying. The exchange of ideas and experiences of members, at its annual conventions aided materially in the dissemination of knowledge, especially on the subjects of buttermaking, cheese-making, and condensed milk. Besides the information gained at the conventions, the dairymen were able to broaden their acquaintances. By contacts thus made they learned from each other the finer points of successful manufacture of dairy products.

The original plan of the Michigan Dairymen's Association was to include the milk producers as well as the manufacturers. It seemed, however, that from year to year the producers themselves dropped out of the organization and it became more and more a manufacturers' organization. It was not for lack of encouragement that the producers faded out of the organization. During the early years of the life of the organization most of the members were producer-manufacturers and the early sessions were occupied quite largely with production problems.

In 1887 Honorable F. A. Wilson introduced a bill into the house of representatives of the state legislature which provided for the printing at state expense of 3,000 copies of the proceedings of the annual convention of the Michigan Dairymen's Association. These were to be distributed by the secretary of the association. Thus was demonstrated the attitude of the state legislature toward the association when the bill

was unanimously passed, and signed by Governor Luce in just over thirty days from the time it was introduced in the house.

In addressing the second annual convention of the association, President Wiggins stated, ". . . dairying is an art, and it is evident that an art becomes more difficult in practice, as its rules and the surroundings which modify them become more numerous. Estimated by this standard, the successful factory-man or dairyman must draw from more subjects of knowledge and cover a wider field of science than any other branch of farming. The dairy farmer is not only a producer. He is a manufacturer. His products leave his hands ready for the consumer."

President Wiggins' statement portrayed very vividly the status of dairying in the state at that time. The age of specialization had begun, however, and this tendency was encouraged as it became more and more evident that the job of producing milk was a complete job in itself—the job of manufacturing still another. Thus the process of divorcing the manufacture of dairy products from the farm was begun.

President Horton of Fruitridge stated in his address to the third annual convention in 1887 that "Michigan makes annually 40,000,000 pounds of butter, that of this amount fully nine-tenths, 36,000,000 pounds, are farm dairy, which at the average difference in price, nine cents per pound, between farm dairy butter and choice creamery butter, means an annual loss to Michigan dairymen of \$3,240,000". In this way the association tried to raise the level of quality of Michigan dairy products by encouraging their manufacture in creameries and cheese factories instead of on the farms.

The destiny of the dairy industry in its infancy was shaped quite largely by such men as Mr. Horton, E. A. Stowe of Grand Rapids, S. J. Wilson of Flint. Mr. Horton was president of the Dairymen's Association from 1886 to 1890. Mr. Stowe was secretary from 1885 to 1892, and Mr. Wilson from 1892 to 1910.

During the year 1886, a dairy board of trade was organized at Grand Rapids. President Horton stated in his address con-

cerning this enterprise, "I learn that it was not successful, owing, so its secretary informs me, to a lack of interest on the part of dairymen themselves". Apparently Michigan was not yet ready for a marketing medium of this sort. Dairying had not yet grown to such proportions that one was needed.

The attitude of the Dairymen's Association toward scientific study and experimentation in a general way, and as it would affect the dairy industry in particular, was reflected in President Horton's address of 1887 when he said, "I believe it is for the interest of our business that this association should also encourage the bill now before congress which provides for financial assistance to the states in conducting agricultural experiments".

The early sessions of the first conventions were largely concerned with papers by the members themselves on such subjects of interest as : "The Making and Salting of Butter and Cheese", "Farm Dairies and Holstein-Friesian Cattle", "Manufacturing Cheese for European Market", "My-Experience With Watered Milk", "What and How to Feed for Good Quality and Large Quantity of Milk", "Tainted Milk". The program committees made use of available members of the Michigan Agricultural College faculty by getting such men as Professor Beal of the Botany Department to discuss such subjects as "Grasses for Pastures and Meadows". Professor Samuel Johnson, whose talents were ever at the service of those needing them, was the author of the above mentioned paper on "What and How to Feed for Good Quality and Large Quantity of Milk".

In 1889 President Horton reported that "we now number over 100 cheese factories and as many creameries. We have some 433,000 milch cows, and Michigan full cream cheese finds a wide market outside our own state".

The 1889 convention of the Dairymen's Association adopted a "Standard Quantity and Quality of Milk" as follows: "Quantity—Borden's Standard of eight and five-eighths pounds per gallon—is now taken and accepted as the standard of milk, not only in our own country, but in all Europe. Quality—The Michigan Dairymen's Association has decided that hereafter

the following shall be considered as the standard quality of milk in Michigan: Water 87.5%, solids 12.5%." In this way the association was helping to standardize and to improve the quality of their dairy products.

As a means toward economical production of milk the silo was introduced about 1881. Samuel Johnson, professor of practical agriculture at the Agricultural College, began experimenting with silos and ensilage in 1881. He was an ardent advocate of this means of preserving the corn crop, and made



many speeches advocating the use of the silo. He stated that the silo built at the "M.A.C." farm in 1881 was "as far as I am aware the first silo in Michigan". (This silo was actually constructed by Professor Manly Miles of that institution.)

The silo was one of the first subjects studied by the College in a long series of feeding problems which have become more intricate from year to year. The extension work done by the College on silos paved the way for the complete agricultural

extension program which later was developed to carry the work of the College to the farmers' very door step.

The Dairymen's Association encouraged the exhibition of butter and cheese at the State Fair and at its own annual convention. These samples were entered for prizes in competition and emphasized the need for improved *quality* in dairy products. In every way, the Michigan Dairymen's Association, The Agricultural College, and the individual commercial leaders in the industry have done their utmost to educate the producer of milk to the need and advantages of high quality milk. Nor has the finished product been neglected. Instances of the leadership of the Dairymen's Association in promoting high quality butter and cheese have been cited.

Dairying was definitely put on a scientific foundation in 1890 by the introduction of the Babcock test for butterfat in milk and cream. This invention did more than any other to remove the injustices of the old flat price for milk regardless of butterfat content. The Babcock-test soon put the sale of milk upon a quality basis, and removed much of the incentive to adulteration of milk by making it unprofitable to do so.

A great boon to the establishment of the commercial aspect of the industry was the centrifugal cream separator. Invented in 1878, it was put upon a practical basis in 1890 when it was perfected into what is known as the continuous-flow type. Previously milk had been set in shallow pans or deep cans to allow the cream to rise by gravity. Obviously, by this system a large amount of milk could not be handled at one time. So the introduction of the centrifugal cream separator into Michigan, and its gradual adoption by Michigan farmers made possible the keeping of larger herds. It has also been a major factor in handling milk and cream without loss of butterfat.

At the 1895 convention of the Michigan Dairymen's Association, Vice-president Jas. N. McBride described the condition of the dairy industry and the dairyman's attitude of mind at that time when he said, "We have every reason to be pleased with the condition of dairying now, compared to two or three years ago. One great advantage is the Agricultural

College where the young men and women are studying practical dairying. The dairy school was organized last year."

He evidently referred to the short course in dairying which was offered in the winter of 1893-94 by Professor Clinton D. Smith, a graduate of Cornell University who came to Michigan from Minnesota. Professor Smith was an enthusiastic, farsighted, humorous, able man. He did much to encourage and develop dairying in the state. Professor Smith later became director of the Experiment Station. He served the state of Michigan through his connection with Michigan Agricultural College from 1893 until 1908. Though fifteen years is but a short time in the history of even so young an industry as dairying, Professor Smith's capable, inspiring leadership was of profound influence in the development and organization of the dairy industry in Michigan.

Michigan has always, since the introduction of purebred cattle, been well represented by progressive breeders. Among them, past and present, should be mentioned: Ayrshires, James E. Davidson, Jenkins Brothers, Booth Stock Farm; Brown Swiss, L. S. Marshall, Frank Poet, Michigan Agricultural College, Ternes Lumber Company; Guernseys, John Endicott, Earl Hemingway, J. C. Hollenbeck, Fred Gleason, Loma Farm, E. J. Smallidge, H. W. Wigman, A. M. Smith, E. W. Ruehs; Holstein-Friesian, D. D. Aitken, The Michigan State Institutions, the Detroit Creamery Company, H. W. Norton, Mason Parmalee, Lakewood Farm, Dudley E. Waters, Sarah V. H. Jones, Lakefield Farm, A. H. Buhl; Jerseys, T. F. Marston, W. S. Prickett, Edwin S. George, H. F. Probert, Colon C. Lillie, A. H. Goss, Samuel Odell, Smith and Parker. Many of the above repeatedly imported into the state the best blood of the breed. Among the importers the most prominent have been H. W. Wigman, Guernseys; A. H. Goss, Jerseys; James E. Davidson, Ayrshires; and Detroit Creamery Company, Holsteins. The influence of these breeders, through the cattle they have developed and through their leadership in their respective state breed associations has been of much value in advancing the cause of dairying.

There have been cycles in our dairy development. These cycles have depended largely upon the supply and demand for our dairy products. First butter and then cheese were the major dairy enterprises. Later came condenseries. Next, along with the rapid industrial development following the introduction of the automobile, fluid milk gained the ascendancy. More recently butter and cheese have again risen in importance. The years 1909-1910 for instance, started an era of rapid creamery development. At about that time the ice cream industry made rapid strides in its development and assumed a commercial aspect.

Michigan is favored with a very suitable climate for dairying. Her soil, while variable, is well adapted to the raising of the proper feeds for the dairy cow. The Agricultural College, through its three branches, Education, Experiment Station, and Extension, has, at all times, striven toward the solution of the problems confronting the dairymen. Through these services, it has fulfilled the promise of its founders and has contributed materially toward building the scientific foundations upon which Michigan's dairy industry rests today.

Dairy Organizations. Much has already been said of the Michigan Dairymen's Association (1885) with regard to its influence in promoting the development of dairying in Michigan. This organization was incorporated in 1895 for a period of thirty years.

The growth of the dairy industry created in the first decade of the present century a need for sub-organization of the Dairymen's Association. Previous to this time the commercial manufacture of ice cream had become more and more important. Hence in 1908 the Michigan Ice Cream Manufacturers Association was formed. The year 1911 saw the organization of the Michigan Association of Creamery Owners and Managers. By 1917 the following organizations, in addition to the above mentioned, were all in operation: Michigan Market Milk Dealers Association, Michigan Milk and Dairy Inspectors Association, Michigan Cheesemakers Association, Michigan Milk Producers Association, Michigan Buttermakers Associa-

tion, Michigan Poultry, Butter and Egg Association, Michigan Association of Cooperative Creameries, Michigan Holstein-Friesian Association, Michigan Jersey Cattle Club, Michigan Guernsey Cattle Club, and Exhibitors Federation of the Michigan Dairymen's Association.

That the above mentioned organizations might be more adequately represented in the Michigan Dairymen's Association this parent organization was reorganized in 1917 with a board of directors composed of the presidents of the various specialized organizations. Since that time some of the sub-associations have disbanded but others have been organized. Thus we find the largest single agricultural enterprise in the state of Michigan well organized and built on a solid scientific foundation.

Of the dairy organizations none has had a more potent influence than the Michigan Milk Producers' Association. Organized in 1916, it has increased in usefulness as a marketing medium for the bulk of the fluid milk produced in the state. At the time of its organization the individual farmers were at the mercy of the large distributing organizations for a price for their product. They were no longer able to retail their own milk because of regulations of the boards of health. The distribution of milk and the manufacture of butter, cheese, ice cream, condensed milk, and powdered milk were all in the hands of companies organized especially for that purpose. These companies had grown powerful enough to be able to arbitrarily set the price to the dairyman for his milk. The result was almost chaos in the milk marketing situation.

The milk producers' organization was able to sign up a majority of the producers and to obtain contracts authorizing the association to act as selling agent for the producer in marketing his product. In this way, the Milk Producers Association gained control of about seventy-five per cent of the milk sold on the markets of Detroit and several of the other large cities. As a consequence, order was brought out of chaos, and the farmers received a more just and equitable price for their milk.

In this organization, we have the largest and one of the most successful cooperative marketing organizations in the state. What the Michigan Dairymen's Association, and later the Michigan Allied Dairy Association has meant to the manufacturer of dairy products and the distributor of milk, the Michigan Milk Producers Association has meant to the producer of milk.

Michigan is noted as the home of the first cow testing association (later known as Dairy Herd Improvement Association) in the United States. This cooperative association of farmer-dairymen for the improvement of their herds was organized in Newaygo County in 1905, and has been in continuous operation since that time. There have been as many as 100 of these associations in operation in the state at one time. Their influence in raising the level of milk and butterfat production and in improving feeding practices has been a major factor in the progress of, and important position attained by, the dairy industry in Michigan agriculture. These organizations have been sponsored as projects of the United States Department of Agriculture working through the Extension Division of the State Agricultural College (now Michigan State College).

Many names have been mentioned in connection with this narrative, but it would not be complete without the names of several other distinguished men together with their major contributions to the growth and development of the industry. Included among such a list must be mentioned the following. No claim is made for the completeness of it. There are, no doubt, many others that might as properly be mentioned here, but space will not permit a complete list of all who deserve to be so listed:

WARREN ISHAM, publisher, *Michigan Farmer*; R. F. JOHNSTONE, publisher, *Michigan Farmer*; T. F. MARSTON, president of Michigan Dairymen's Association, and breeder of Jersey Cattle beginning in 1875; E. A. STOWE, organizer of Michigan Dairymen's Association; G. B. HORTON, early president of Michigan Dairymen's Association and leader in

cheese manufacture; S. J. WILSON, secretary of Michigan Dairymen's Association; D. D. AITKEN, attorney, breeder of Holstein-Friesian cattle, and leader in extension movement in breeder associations; H. W. NORTON, JR., assistant professor of animal husbandry, Michigan Agricultural College, secretary, Michigan Holstein-Friesian Association, director Bureau of Animal Industry, Michigan Department of Agriculture, and now secretary of the Holstein-Friesian Association of America, thereby helping to improve the leading breed of dairy cattle in the state; A. C. ANDERSON, professor of dairy husbandry, Michigan Agricultural College, 1905-1920, and later field man for the Michigan Milk Producers Association; O. E. REED, professor of dairy husbandry, 1921-1928. Most responsible for the rapid increase in alfalfa acreage in Michigan, thereby making Michigan dairymen practically self sufficient as producers of feed for 822,000 dairy cows, accomplished much in spreading the idea of testing cows for production in cooperative dairy herd improvement associations; C. F. HUFFMAN, research professor in dairy husbandry, Michigan State College, whose work on the nutrition of dairy cows has saved millions of dollars to Michigan farmers; ERNEST L. ANTHONY, professor of dairy husbandry, Michigan State College, 1928 to date; who has maintained peace and harmony among many opposing factions of the dairy industry and has molded the industry as a whole into a much more workable unit, and whose work on improving and proving dairy sires is bearing fruit in increased and more economical production of milk; COLON C. LILLIE, started crusading for alfalfa in 1909; valiant exponent of improved dairy cattle and practical production methods; at one time president of Michigan Dairymen's Association; NORMAN S. GRUBBS, former secretary of the Detroit Dairy and Food Council, for his work in emphasizing the food value of dairy products; N. P. HULL, president of the Michigan Milk Producers Association; efficient organizer of the dairy industry in Michigan and recognized as a national figure in this field; GEO. H. BROWNELL, editor of *Brownell's Dairy Farmer*, and secretary of the Michigan Dairymen's Association, 1913-1917.

PIONEER SCANDINAVIAN SETTLEMENT IN MICHIGAN

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I

THE thirteen Danes, eighty-six Norwegians, and seven Swedes that composed the Scandinavian population of Michigan in 1850, were forerunners of the Scandinavians who by 1930 composed 2.3 per cent of the population of the state.¹ Except in the counties of Ottawa, Oceana, and Michilimackinac, where small groups of Norwegians and Swedes were engaged in logging, the Scandinavians in 1850 were so scattered as to be almost a negligible element in the total population. In the decade following, however, permanent settlements of Danes, Norwegians, and Swedes were established, and during the Civil War immigration to the Upper Peninsula began that was to make of this region a new Sweden. By 1860, the present areas of concentration of settlement by the respective Scandinavian groups were fairly well marked out, and thereafter they grew rapidly. A considerable loss by migration from Michigan to states farther westward was offset by continuing immigration from abroad.

In contrast to the history of Scandinavian settlement in the upper Mississippi Valley, land was not the primary attraction in Michigan. Many did find good land for farming in Michigan, especially in the Lower Peninsula, but the chief advantage lay in the opportunities to earn a living immediately in accustomed occupations. Michigan's lumbering and mining industries were in the midst of great growth and expansion during the period of large-scale Scandinavian immigration. Lumbering and mining were as familiar occupations to the northern peoples as were agriculture and fishing, and thousands grasped the opportunity to earn a livelihood in work which they knew well. Railroad building provided tem-

1. United States Census, Michigan, population schedules, 1850; *United States Census, 1930, Population*. The statistics include both foreign- and American-born.



porary employment for many. The Great Lakes offered opportunities to Scandinavian seamen and captains, the Norwegians in particular, many of whom lived in the coast towns of Michigan.² Within the present century, the automobile and allied industries have attracted many Scandinavian engineers and mechanics. For many immigrants, Michigan provided temporary employment before they proceeded to western lands, but large numbers of Scandinavians found Michigan a satisfactory permanent home.

To the general factors attracting Scandinavians to Michigan, may be added certain more specific influences. Like other western states and territories, Michigan had its Commissioner of Immigration. It was his function to advertise the advantages of the state and in other ways to attract immigrants to Michigan. For example, in 1881 the commissioner, Frederick Morely, wrote and had distributed a 144 page pamphlet entitled *Michigan and Its Resources*.³ How direct an influence on Scandinavian immigration was exerted by the commissioner is difficult to determine, but the pamphlets were distributed widely, both abroad and in America, by agents of the railroad and mining companies.

A more concrete factor is to be found in the activities of railroad and mining companies. The work of some of these will be described later, but one example may be cited at this point. A Norwegian civil engineer, Alfred W. Gjerdrum, in a letter to the newspaper, *Skandinaven* (Chicago), in 1880 wrote:⁴

"As I promised, I want to let you know of my arrival here [East Saginaw]. As you know, we came with credentials to Mr. W. L. Weber, land commissioner of the Flint and Pere Marquette R. R., who has issued a brochure in the Norwegian language concerning Michigan. Mr. Lange, a forestry student, is already employed in the neighborhood of Edmore, where a large lumber company is building a railroad to its timber lands. Personally, I have been well received. Both of us have found great opportunities for labor and plenty of the known American good will toward strangers."

2. Knut Gjerset, *Norwegian Sailors on the Great Lakes*, 41 (Northfield, Minnesota, 1928).

3. Lansing, 1881.

4. *Skandinaven*, July 22, 1880. Translation from the Norwegian.

Other railroad companies were undoubtedly also active in attracting immigrants. Not infrequently, chance played a part in the coming of the Scandinavian settlers, as in the case of a party of Norwegians aboard the lake vessel "City of Fremont", which stopped for fuel at Northport, Leelanau County, on its way to Chicago in 1867. A lumberman offered the newcomers employment, but they decided to go on to Chicago. While two of the party went on westward from Chicago, the remainder of the group returned to Northport to accept the lumberman's offer. Their letters to Norway brought others to the place in the years that followed.⁵

Most influential were the America letters written by settlers in Michigan to friends and relatives in the Scandinavian countries. Some of them told of safe arrivals, others of the voyage overseas, and still others described the new home in Michigan. It would be difficult to over estimate the influence of these letters in the home districts in the Scandinavian countries. A letter received by one-family might be passed around an entire district, and Michigan would thus become a definite destination in the minds of many prospective emigrants. Many of the letters were published in newspapers abroad and in such Scandinavian American newspapers as *Skandinaven* (Chicago), *Emigranten* (Madison, Wisconsin), *Decorah-posten* (Decorah, Iowa), *Folkebladet* (Minneapolis), *Budstikken* (Minneapolis), *Minneapolis tidende*, *Hemlandet* (Chicago), *Svenska tribunen* (Chicago), and *Svenska Amerikaneren* (Chicago), to mention only a few. The press was an important factor in Scandinavian immigration to Michigan.

II

It is in harmony with the general history of Scandinavian immigration to America in the nineteenth century that the first of the groups to go to Michigan in considerable numbers were the Norwegians.⁶ The eighty-six Norwegians recorded

5. H. R. Holand, "Det störste norske sättlement i Michigan", in *Decorah-posten*, December 5, 12, 1919.

6. This section on the Norwegian settlements is a summary of the chapter on Michigan in my *Norwegian Settlement in the United States* (Northfield, Minnesota, 1938), which see for a fully documented account.

in the census of 1850 seem to have come or been born within the previous three years. Except for the Muskegon settlement, these early comers were scattered, chiefly in logging camps and sawmills. The Norwegian population of Michigan increased rapidly in the years that followed and in the post-Civil War decade and the eighties it attained substantial proportions, particularly in the Lower Peninsula.

The majority of the Norwegian settlements in the Lower Peninsula were established in the triple tier of counties extending from Allegan County to the peak of the peninsula that forms Leelanau County. A number of settlements on the Lake Huron shore, a large Norwegian element in Detroit and neighboring industrial centers, and a settlement in Berrien County in the southwestern corner of the state, comprise the other areas in lower Michigan.

One of the larger areas of Norwegian settlement in western Michigan is that in Muskegon County, where immigration began about 1847 or 1848. To the southward and southeastward from Muskegon, Norwegians settled before 1870 in Berrien County, before 1860 in Ottawa County, and by 1880 and after in considerable numbers in Kent County, especially in and about Grand Rapids. North of Muskegon there are more Norwegian settlements than to the south. Those in Oceana County date back to 1856, while in Mason County the settlements were begun in the sixties, centering at Ludington. Manistee County has been a Norwegian center in Michigan since the earliest recorded Norwegian settler arrived in the vicinity of Onekama in 1851. The large Norwegian element in Leelanau County began with the party which in 1867 chanced to stop at Northport enroute to Chicago, and, as already related, returned to accept a lumberman's offer of work.

To the east and south there were Norwegian settlers in Antrim and Grand Traverse counties before 1860. A settlement established in 1860 at Elk Rapids has remained Antrim County's Norwegian center. During the nineties Norwegians settled at Ironton, East Jordan, and Boyne City, Charlevoix County. Except for some Norwegians in Big Rapids, Mecosta

County, there have been few in the northwestern counties of lower Michigan.

Across the state on the Lake Huron side, Norwegian settlement began in Alpena County in 1861, centering at Alpena. Many place names in and about Alpena, such as "Norwegian Beach", "Norwegian Grove", and "Norway Dam", are evidence of the presence there of Norwegians. Farther down the eastern side of Michigan there have been Norwegians in small numbers in Alcona, Iosco, and Bay counties, and in large numbers in Wayne County and adjoining industrial areas.

The earliest Norwegians and Swedes in the Upper Peninsula went there as a result of the development of the copper and iron mines and the labor crisis brought on by the Civil War. Soon after the discovery by Edwin J. Hulbert of the extensive copper deposits near Portage Lake, came the Civil War with greatly increased demand for ore. The scarcity of labor became acute, and a number of mining companies pooled ninety thousand dollars to send an agent abroad to recruit labor for the mines. In 1864 Congress passed an act permitting the importation of contract labor, exempt from liability to military service. The American Immigrant Company, organized the same year in New York, sent agents abroad, the one sent to Sweden also finding cooperation in the American consul at Bergen, Norway, O. E. Dreutzer, who encouraged the emigration of laborers to work for the mining companies on Lake Superior. At the same time, a Norwegian American named Christian Taftesen was instrumental in the emigration from the districts about Tromsö in northern Norway of 589 persons, who were transported to Newcastle and Liverpool and thence to Quebec and the Lake Superior mines. By 1870 there were considerable Norwegian settlements in Houghton and Keweenaw counties, and the Norwegian element in the Portage Lake region has remained large to this day.

With the development of the iron mines of Marquette County, many Norwegians were drawn in the early seventies to the region centering at Ishpeming. Mining and lumbering

attracted numbers of Norwegians to the other counties of the Upper Peninsula as well.

III

Danish immigration to Michigan has been chiefly to Montcalm County and adjoining counties. Although the census of 1850 recorded thirteen Danes, located chiefly in coastal towns, the earliest permanent settler recorded elsewhere was Christian Jensen from Sjælland, Denmark, who came directly to Montcalm County in the neighborhood of Greenville in 1853. His America letters led to the emigration of other families from Sjælland in 1856 and 1857, some buying land and others working in saw-mills. By 1870 a large Danish settlement was well established, with centers at Gowen, Trufant, Greenville, and later, Edmore.⁷

From the original settlements in Montcalm County, the Danes spread to neighboring counties, notably Muskegon, Manistee, Mason, Mecosta, Newaygo, Kent, and Oceana, with centers at such points as Ashland, Big Rapids, Muskegon, Pentwater, Ludington, and Manistee. Except in the industrial centers of southeastern Michigan, the Danes elsewhere in the lower peninsula have been relatively few.⁸

In the Upper Peninsula a number of Danes were attracted to the iron mines of Marquette County in the late sixties, and by 1870 there were 207 Danes in the county, chiefly in Ishpeming township and the village of Negaunee. The lumber mills of Menominee County drew Danes in the eighties to Menominee, Stephenson, and Spaulding townships, and the numbers have remained fairly large to this day. The only other Danish settlement of any size in the Upper Peninsula was established in Ford River and Escanaba, Delta County, but the numbers have remained small in comparison with the other Scandinavian groups.⁹

7. *Danske i Amerika*, 323-327 (Minneapolis, 1907); August Rasmussen, *Pioneer Life in the Big Dane Settlement, Montcalm County, Michigan, 1856-1892* (n.p., 1902); Michigan Census, 1870.

8. *Decorah-posten*, March 4, 1885, April 4, 1883; *Grand Rapids Press*, May 23, 1932; *Budstikken*, November 5, 1879; Michigan Census, 1870, 1880; *United States Census, 1930, Population*.

9. Michigan Census, 1870, 1880.

IV

The most numerous of the Scandinavians in Michigan are the Swedes. Outnumbered in the 1850's and 1860's by the other groups, they became the predominant element thereafter. One writer on Swedish immigration states that the earliest Swedish settlers came to Michigan in 1859, but there were earlier comers.¹⁰ Swedes had settled in Sparta township, Kent County, in 1853 and possibly earlier. In 1859 the Reverend Erland Carlsson visited there and found ten Swedish families or fifty people in all, some of whom had lived there about six years. Each family had cleared from five to ten acres and a school had been built.¹¹ Settlers came also to the townships of White River, Dalton, and Fruitland in Muskegon County in the middle fifties.¹² Except for a few Swedes in Brown township, Manistee County, and in Little Sauble township, Mason County, the principal Swedish settlements in Michigan in 1860 were in Kent and Muskegon counties.¹³

Although the majority of Swedish immigrants to Michigan in the 1860's and after were attracted to the Upper Peninsula, some expansion of older settlements in the Lower Peninsula took place. The large Swedish settlement in St. Joseph township and city in Berrien County was begun in the sixties. A large number also came to Manistee township and city, a smaller number to Pere Marquette township, Mason County, a considerable group to the city of Grand Rapids and the townships of Wyoming and Sparta in Kent County, several families to the city of Muskegon, and to Benona township and the village of Pentwater, Oceana County, during the sixties.¹⁴

An enterprise for attracting Scandinavian settlers to the Grand Rapids region was launched in 1870 by the newspapers and merchants of the city. The Grand Rapids and Indiana Railroad cooperated by engaging the Reverend J. P. Tustin, a

10. Karl Hildebrand & Axel Fredenholm, *Svenskarna i Amerika*, 1: 283 (Stockholm, 1924).

11. *History of Kent County, Michigan*, 1329 (Chicago, 1881); Erik Norelius, *De svenska luterska församlingarnas och svenskarnas historia i Amerika*, 1: 765-766 (Rock Island, Illinois, 1890).

12. *History of Muskegon County, Michigan*, 115 (Chicago, 1882).

13. Michigan Census, 1860.

14. Michigan Census, 1870; *Grand Rapids Herald*, May 20, 1928.

Swedish Episcopal clergyman, as its personal representative to induce Scandinavians to emigrate to Michigan. The Reverend T. N. Hasselquist, President of the Evangelical Lutheran Augustana Synod in America, met Tustin in 1870 in Gothenburg, Sweden, and described him as an Episcopal clergyman, commissioned by the Continental Improvement Company, "a subsidiary of several railroad companies", to recruit Swedish emigrants to go to the region of Grand Rapids, Michigan. An extensive advertising campaign was launched, and *Amerika*, a newspaper published in Gothenburg and owned by emigration and land companies, devoted a special issue to the Grand Rapids project.¹⁵ Although Tustin's campaign did not produce large results in the way of emigrants, a number of Swedes did respond. In Osceola County, the town of Tustin was named for the agent.

By 1880 there were Swedish settlements throughout the western, northern, and eastern counties of the Lower Peninsula, most of them extensions of the colonies begun during the previous two decades. The Berrien County settlements have been mentioned. In Allegan County, a Swede named C. Anderson from Jonkoping settled in Watson township in 1877. He brought friends from Indiana and Illinois, and by the fall of 1878 there were eight Swedish families there, but the Swedish element in this county has not been large.¹⁶ The Sparta settlement in Kent County grew, and Swedes settled also in Tyrone township and in and about Grand Rapids. There have been few Swedes in Montcalm County, but large numbers have settled in Muskegon County. The Oceana County settlements have been mentioned. During the seventies, perhaps as a result of the Tustin campaign, a considerable number of Swedes settled in Newaygo County. Large Swedish groups have settled in Mason and Manistee counties as well. The Swedes are represented in smaller numbers in Benzie, Leelanau, Grand Traverse, Antrim, and Kalkaska counties,

15. *Grand Rapids Herald*, May 20, 1928; George M. Stephenson, *The Religious Aspects of Swedish Immigration*, 217 (Minneapolis, 1932).

16. Henry F. Thomas, ed., *History of Allegan County, Michigan*, 592 (Chicago, 1907).

while larger groups settled in Wexford, Osceola, and Mecosta counties, the pioneers coming to these areas in the seventies.¹⁷ Across Michigan on the Lake Huron side, the Swedes were represented before 1880 in Bay, Iosco, Alpena, and Saginaw counties.¹⁸

In the Upper Peninsula, the Swedes have predominated among the Scandinavian groups. The coming of the Swedes and Norwegians to this region during the Civil War years has to some extent already been described. The situation has been elsewhere described as follows:¹⁹

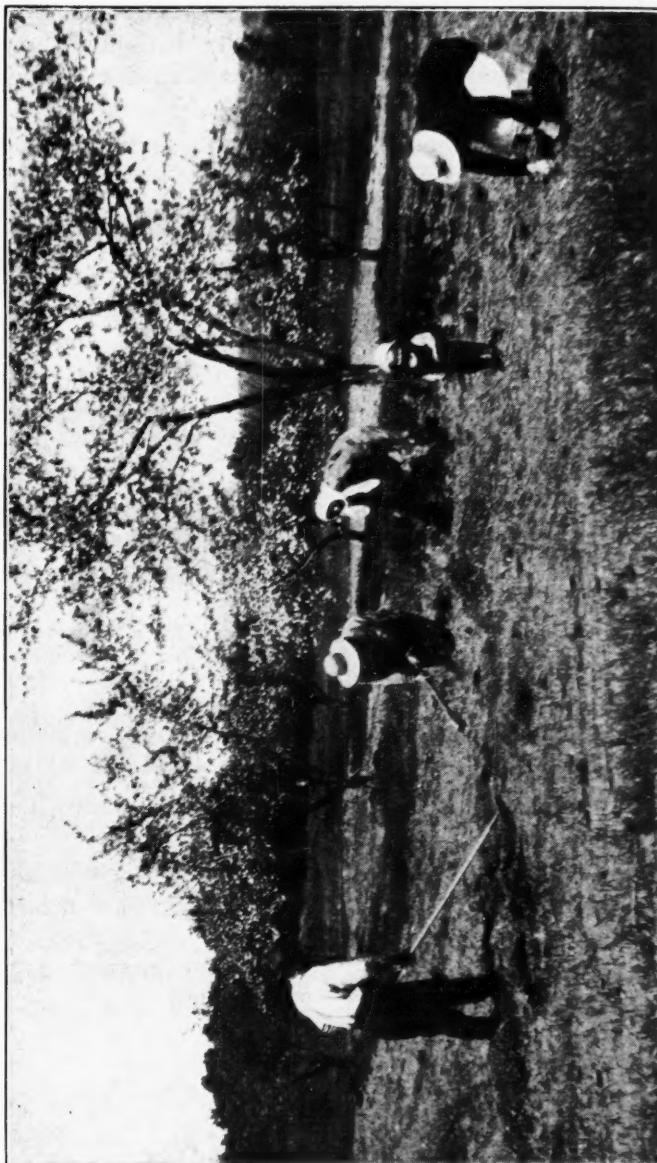
"In the third year of the war labor became very scarce In desperation mine managers sent to Europe for miners. Their agents found them in Sweden. Ninety thousand dollars were subscribed by the several mining companies, to cover the cost of the importation. These foreigners came under contract; they were guaranteed liberal wages, and after they had paid back, in labor, in monthly installments, the cost of their transportation to this country, they would be free to do as they pleased. Arrived at the mines, unexpectedly most of the miners refused to go to work for the companies which had been to the great expense of bringing them to this country They were now in America where they desired to be and that was enough for them."

As previously indicated, the American Immigrant Company of New York also sent an agent to Sweden in 1864 to obtain contract labor. A vigorous advertising campaign, led by *Amerika*, of Gothenburg, was conducted. In Swedish-American newspapers, advertisements also appeared. *Hemlandet* carried in its issue of June 15, 1864 an advertisement by one Axel Silversparre for workmen for the Quincy mines on Lake Superior, seventy-five hours by boat from Chicago, the cost of transportation to be paid by the mining companies. A party of Swedes enroute to the Quincy mines in the early fall of 1864 met a Swede returning from the mines, at Marquette, and this man tried to dissuade the party from going on, saying that the promised high wages were not being paid. The party nevertheless went on, and found wages of \$1.50 to \$3 per day without lodging, the latter costing from \$20 to \$24

17. Michigan Census, 1880.

18. *Decorah-posten*, March 21, 1883: Michigan Census, 1880.

19. John H. Forster, "War Times in the Copper Mines", in *Michigan Pioneer Collections*, 18: 380 (1891).



This is a picture typical of many of the smaller Finnish farms at Askell. All but the "little fellow" are "old timers", two of the women having come to Otter Lake as children with the first boat load of passengers.

per month.²⁰ By the eighties, the Swedish element in the copper country was considerable, especially in Calumet township and city, in Quincy and Adams townships, and in the village of Red Jacket, Houghton County.²¹

The development of the iron mines soon brought thousands to Marquette County and made Ishpeming one of the principal Swedish centers in the Upper Peninsula. Despite complaints as to wages and conditions in the iron mines, the Swedes in Marquette County numbered 2,597 by 1880. The Norwegian traveler, Thomas Brown, found 300 Scandinavians, mostly Swedes, in Negaunee in 1876, and in Marquette about 200 Scandinavians, also largely Swedish.²² In 1885 the Reverend Ole Paulson, a noted Norwegian pioneer minister, wrote: "In Ishpeming the Scandinavians are strongly represented. More than one-third of the city's population is Scandinavian, of whom the Swedes are in the majority."²³ One of the early mining companies, the Gold Star, was owned entirely by Scandinavians.²⁴ Although one commentator writes: "Minnesota farming sections and Minnesota iron ranges have taken a large toll of Marquette County—especially Ishpeming pioneer Swedes,"²⁵ immigration soon filled the ranks of the Swedes in this region.

In Baraga, Ontonagon, Gogebic, Iron, and Dickinson counties, Swedish settlement has paralleled the growth of iron mining. The cities of Metropolitan and Iron Mountain have large Swedish groups.²⁶ A visitor to Metropolitan in 1884 stated that most of the population of the city was Swedish.²⁶ Another writer in Iron Mountain in 1891 stated that the city contained 3,000 Swedes in a total population of 10,000.²⁷ In Menominee County, the sawmills and logging camps furnished employment for hundreds of Swedes, especially in Menominee,

20. *Hemlandet*, September 7, 1864.

21. Michigan Census, 1880.

22. *Skandinaven*, October 17, 1876.

23. *Folkebladet*, September 8, 1885.

24. *Skandinaven*, March 30, 1880.

25. From the papers of Mr. John Viking, Ishpeming, Michigan.

26. *Decorah-posten*, January 9, 1884.

27. *Amerika*, February 4, 1891.

Spaulding, Stephenson, and Cedarville townships.²⁸ In Delta County, similar circumstances brought large numbers to Escanaba, Gladstone, Ford River and other points, beginning in the sixties. Manistique has been a Swedish center in Schoolcraft County since the first settlers came shortly before 1870. In Mackinac County, a Scandinavian settlement, largely Swedish, was begun in the late eighties in the vicinity of Brevoort and St. Ignace.²⁹ This settlement completes the survey of Swedish settlements in the Upper Peninsula.³⁰

V

The principal occupations of the Scandinavians in Michigan have been indicated. When the lumber industries offered fewer opportunities, farming became a leading occupation. Mining has been a constant source of livelihood. Lake shipping has attracted many from the first years of immigration. The great labor market created by the automobile and allied industries in southeastern Michigan has drawn thousands of Scandinavians, and many have risen to positions of great responsibility in the various companies. In the cities, Scandinavians have been strongly represented in business and politics, as well as in the professions.

There have been a considerable number of Scandinavian newspapers published in Michigan, the earliest being perhaps *Svenska Posten*, a weekly, begun in Ishpeming in August 1882 and continuing for five years.³¹ Subsequently, newspapers and periodicals, both secular and religious, chiefly in the Swedish language, have been published in Ishpeming, Grand Rapids, Manistique, Manistee, Muskegon, Ironwood, Escanaba, Iron Mountain, Cadillac, Menominee, Munising, Calumet, Bay City, Norway, Marquette, and Detroit. Although the immigrant press has declined measurably in recent years, a con-

28. Michigan Census, 1880.

29. Information supplied by the Reverend R. C. Anderson, St. Ignace, Michigan.

30. For information on the Finnish Swedes, see Carl J. Silfversten, *Finnlandssvenskarna i Amerika* (Duluth, 1931).

31. Alfred Söderström, ed., *Blixtar pa Tidnings-Horisonten*, 43 (Warroad, Minnesota, 1910).

siderable number of publications have survived. The period of greatest activity in the Scandinavian-American newspaper field in Michigan was from 1890 to about 1910.

The Scandinavians in Michigan, like those elsewhere in America, brought with them from their homelands a common Lutheran state church background. The majority of the immigrants were common folk, and to them religion was a deeply felt need. It is characteristic of the pioneer stage of Scandinavian settlement in America that a first concern was to organize church congregations. Most of the immigrants adhered to the Lutheran faith in America. There were many, however, who turned to other faiths in this new country. Whatever theology they might prefer, practically all remained Protestants.³²

Within the Lutheran fold there were many factions, differing in matters of ritual from high to low church, but varying little in essential doctrine. Most of these factions were represented by congregations in Michigan. The Norwegian Lutheran congregations of Michigan have been distributed chiefly amongst the following synods:³³ the Scandinavian Evangelical Lutheran Augustana Synod (1860-70), the Norwegian Synod (1853-1917), the Norwegian Danish Conference (1870-1890), Hauge's—previously Eielsen's—Synod (1875-1917), the United Norwegian Lutheran Church (1890-1917), the Lutheran Free Church (1893-), and the Norwegian Lutheran Church of America (1917-). There were fewer factional splits amongst the Swedish Lutherans, and most of their congregations have belonged throughout their existence to the Evangelical Lutheran Augustana Synod of North America, with headquarters at Rock Island, Illinois. The Danish-Lutheran congregations in Michigan joined with the Scandinavian Synod until 1870, and with the Norwegian Danish Conference thereafter until 1890, when many of the

32. The primary materials on the Scandinavian churches in Michigan are the annual reports of the respective synods and conferences, and congregational histories. Each denomination has had its historians, but their works have been largely descriptive rather than analytical and critical.

33. The dates, given in parenthesis, indicate the years of existence of each organization.

congregations joined the newly formed Danish Lutheran Synod. The United Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church, organized in 1897, also has congregations in Michigan.

The Swedish Evangelical Mission Covenant was organized in 1885 as a result of a movement by church leaders who regarded the Augustana Synod as too institutional. This body has a considerable number of congregations in all parts of Michigan. The Swedish Baptist General Conference has had a number of congregations in Michigan since 1872, and the Swedish Methodist Episcopal Church has been represented there since 1873. Most of the congregations of the latter have been in the Upper Peninsula.

There have been a few other short-lived church organizations of various faiths, and some Scandinavians have undoubtedly joined non-Scandinavian congregations, but the majority, if they belonged to any church at all, and most of them have, adhered to the Scandinavian American churches.

In addition to the church organizations, there have been a number of Scandinavian societies and fraternal organizations. In Ishpeming, the Scandinavian Benevolent and Social Society was founded in 1872,³⁴ and a Norwegian society named "Freya" was reported in Menominee in 1887.³⁵ In 1891 a Scandinavian society named "Concordia" was organized for social purposes in Manistique.³⁶ A Scandinavian Sick-Aid Society was reported for Ironwood in 1889.³⁷ In 1873-74 one of the first Scandinavian temperance societies in the United States was formed at Calumet, and soon after another was organized at Hancock.³⁸ These are but a few examples of the many charitable, social, fraternal and other societies that have flourished in the Scandinavian settlements. The Danish Brotherhood and Danish Sisterhood, the Swedish Vasa societies, the Sons of Norway, and the Norwegian "bygdelags" or societies of immigrants from various districts in Norway, all have been

34. *History of the Upper Peninsula of Michigan*, 442 (Chicago, 1883).

35. *Decorah-posten*, June 22, 1887.

36. *Amerika*, August 12, 1891.

37. *Decorah-posten*, July 3, 1889.

38. *Norske Selskabs Kvartalskrift*, 7: 3-4 (July 1911).

represented in Michigan. Scandinavians have been active in the formation of ski clubs, the Ishpeming Ski Club formed in 1887 being one of the oldest in the United States.³⁹

A significant educational movement, inaugurated in Denmark by Bishop Grundtvig, was transplanted by Danish emigrants to Ashland township, Newaygo County, where in 1882 one of the early Danish folk schools in America was founded. Ashland College was begun as a folk high school, and has emphasized adult education and vocational, recreational, and civic problems.

Generally speaking, the Scandinavians may be said to have constituted an industrious, law-abiding, and intelligent element in the population of Michigan. As elsewhere in America, they have been quickly assimilated into the American way of life. They have helped in no small measure in the creation of Michigan's mining, lumbering, industrial, and agricultural wealth.

39. *History of the National Ski Association, 1840-1931, 10-19* (Duluth, 1931).

EARLY DENOMINATIONAL ACADEMIES AND COLLEGES IN MICHIGAN

BY WILLIS F. DUNBAR

Kalamazoo College

THAT phase of the westward movement which followed the opening of the Erie Canal in 1825 and resulted in the settlement of the southern part of the Lower Peninsula of Michigan came at a time when denominational interest and zeal in the founding of institutions of higher learning in the Middle West was at its zenith.

The efforts to divorce colleges and academies from church influence, so general in the years following the American Revolution, had not proved successful. State universities had not flourished; indeed they had shown a tendency to come under the domination of sectarian influences. The Dartmouth College case had emancipated the church-related colleges from the danger of state control. The religious revival of the early nineteenth century had wiped out the secular and even atheistic tendencies in eastern colleges. Moreover it had generated a strong and vital movement within the several protestant denominations in behalf of missions, benevolence, reform, and education. The home missionary phase of this religious awakening had as one of its aspects the foundation of scores of seminaries, schools, and colleges in the Middle West. Although Michigan was a pioneer in respect to her system of public education, there was not lacking in this state a very lively interest in church-sponsored educational enterprises.

It is the purpose of this paper to outline the history of these early projects and to examine their relationship to the state-supported institutions, particularly the University of Michigan.

Before turning to the work of the several denominations it is important to note that the first incorporated institution of learning in Michigan, outside the University, was an "Association for the Promotion of Female Education" and was, in its organization, a sort of co-operative denominational project having a quasi-public character. It was incorporated on 18

March, 1830, under the terms of a law passed in 1821 to enable associations of persons to become incorporated for "scientific, literary, charitable, or religious" purposes.¹ The Articles of Agreement indicate that it was sponsored jointly by members of the Methodist, Baptist, Protestant Episcopal, and Presbyterian churches in Detroit. The paramount importance of religious instruction was acknowledged but sectarian views and doctrines were to be rigidly excluded.² A building was erected and the school opened its doors in 1835. It soon encountered financial difficulties and operations were suspended in 1843.³ The experiment is interesting, even though it was not permanently successful. It suggests the manner in which these same four denominations later worked out a tacit understanding regarding their "rights" in the University.⁴

The institution whose brief history has been sketched in the preceding paragraph seems to have been the only educational enterprise incorporated under the provisions of the act of 1821. This act was repealed in 1833 and until the passage of the general incorporation law for academies and colleges in 1855 all charters had to be obtained by special act of the legislature.⁵

Many of the early teachers in the various private schools operated in Detroit were ministers. One of the first of these was the Reverend David Bacon, who opened a school for boys in 1801.⁶ The Reverend R. Elms taught a school known as the Detroit Classical Academy in 1836. When the Catholepistemiad or University of Michigania was founded in 1817, the Reverend John Monteith, a Presbyterian minister, and Father Gabriel Richard, a Catholic priest, were elected to the Presidency and Vice Presidency respectively. A private academy was opened in Monroe by the Reverend Samuel Center in

¹*Laws of the territory of Michigan*, I, 870-874.

²*Detroit Journal and Advertiser*, 9 December, 1834.

³Mary Rosalita, Sister, *Education in Detroit prior to 1850* (Lansing, 1928), 226-227; Farmer, Silas, *The history of Detroit and Michigan* (Detroit, 1899), 716-717.

⁴Shaw, Wilfred, *The University of Michigan* (N. Y., 1926), 40.

⁵*Laws of the territory of Michigan*, III, 1208.

⁶Catlin, George B., *The story of Detroit* (Detroit, 1923), 105; Farmer, S., *op. cit.*, 715.

1837 and there were two schools operated by ministers in Niles prior to 1838.⁷ Thus it may be seen that Christian ministers were among the pioneer schoolmasters of the territory of Michigan.

So far as the records reveal, a young Baptist missionary named Thomas Ward Merrill, who arrived in the territory in 1829, was the first person to promote the cause of a denominational college in Michigan. He was a graduate of Waterville (now Colby) College in Maine and of the Newton Theological Institution. Like so many young men of that time he determined to give his life to missionary work and came to Michigan determined to set up a Baptist college.⁸ In 1830 he made his first effort to secure from the legislature a charter of incorporation for an institution to be called "The Michigan and Huron Institute," to be set up under Baptist control.⁹ The legislature of the territory refused to grant the charter. In 1832 another attempt was made, Merrill in the meantime having secured some financial assistance in the East for his project. The bill passed the legislature this time but was vetoed by the governor.¹⁰ Finally on 22 April, 1833 a bill to incorporate Merrill's school was signed by the governor.¹¹ The Michigan and Huron Institute established under the provisions of this act became in time Kalamazoo College. Although Merrill was finally successful in his efforts, the charter as granted at that time did not include the right to confer degrees. This is very significant because it marks the inauguration of what became a settled policy in Michigan for a score of years: that of refusing college powers to denominational schools. There were a few departures from this policy during that period, but it was generally adhered to.

The Michigan and Huron Institute was opened in Kalamazoo in 1836. Although the Board of Trustees consisted entirely

⁷Grimes, James Odus, *History of academies of the state of Michigan prior to 1872* (Unpublished manuscript).

⁸Magill, David T. *Thomas Ward Merrill, a biographical sketch* (Manuscript in the archives of Kalamazoo College).

⁹Haskell, Samuel, *Historical sketch of Kalamazoo College* (Kalamazoo, 1899).

¹⁰*Journal of the Legislative Council*, 1832, 160.

¹¹*Laws of the territory of Michigan*, III, 1131.

of Baptists, the denomination did not have any control, as an organization, under the charter. This fact caused the Michigan Baptist Convention to give it only a small amount of support in its early days, the organization desiring to establish a full-fledged college rather than to support a mere academy.¹² The panic of 1837 hurt the enterprise but it was kept going by making a co-operative agreement with the Regents of the University to combine with a "Branch" of that institution established in Kalamazoo.¹³ After the Regents ceased to support the "Branch" system the Baptist venture in Kalamazoo continued to operate. James A. B. Stone, who became the Principal of the institution in 1843, interested the denomination in the school by establishing in connection with it a theological seminary.¹⁴ His talented wife, Lucinda Hinsdale Stone, also aided in obtaining support by establishing in connection with the Kalamazoo Literary Institute, as it was then called, a female seminary. Stone also had an important role in the effort which culminated in the amendment of the charter of 1833 by the legislature in 1855 granting college powers and changing the name to Kalamazoo College.¹⁵

The Methodist Episcopal Church was the next denomination to undertake an educational enterprise in Michigan. The idea was conceived in 1833 by the Reverend Elijah H. Pilcher, the Reverend Henry Colclazer, and Dr. Benjamin H. Packard, all residents of Ann Arbor. It was approved by the annual conference of the church in Ohio in 1834. A committee appointed by this conference determined to establish the school at Spring Arbor in Jackson county and succeeded in securing a charter from the legislature under an act approved by the governor on 23 March, 1835.¹⁶ The procedure of the Methodists seems to have differed from that of the Baptists in two respects: first, the project had the official backing of the de-

¹²*Constitution of the Baptist Convention of the state of Michigan . . .; a notice of their proceedings* (Detroit, 1836), 9-10.

¹³*Regents' proceedings, 1837-1864* (Ann Arbor, 1915), 118, 141, 163.

¹⁴*Proceedings of the Michigan Baptist Convention* (Detroit, 1843), 14.

¹⁵*Michigan laws, 1855*, 51.

¹⁶Pilcher, Elijah H., *History of Protestantism in Michigan* (Detroit, 1878), 130; *Laws of the territory of Michigan*, III, 1379.

nomination in the case of the Methodists, whereas the Baptist school was the product more of individual effort; secondly, the Methodists, unlike the Baptists, did not desire to secure college rights, this being contrary to the policy of the denomination at that time. The denomination favored the establishment of an academy by each Annual Conference but held that the four Methodist colleges then in existence were sufficient.¹⁷ This attitude was later to be changed, and a host of Methodist colleges were founded in the Middle West. Both the Baptists and the Methodists proposed to operate the schools they established on the "manual labor plan".

The Methodist school, chartered as "Spring Arbor Seminary" never opened in Spring Arbor. The reasons are not entirely clear. Inducements offered by the proprietors of a land company which owned a large part of the site of the future city of Albion caused the Methodists to transfer their project to that town. An amendment to the act of incorporation changing the name to "The Wesleyan Seminary at Albion" was obtained on 12 April, 1839.¹⁸ A primary school was opened in 1842 and the Seminary began operations with a corps of five teachers in November, 1843. An "Indian department" was established to serve those natives who expected to become preachers, interpreters, or teachers.¹⁹ The Methodist Episcopal church had a considerable measure of control over the project from the outset, and an amendment to the charter in 1841 stipulated that a majority of the trustees must always be members of the Methodist Episcopal Church.²⁰ The Baptists had not been able to induce the legislature to grant them similar control over their enterprise, although, as has been stated, the members of the original board of the Michigan and Huron Institute all were Baptists.

In 1850 a "Female College" was founded in connection with the Seminary and the charter was so amended as to give the trustees the right to grant "all such literary honors as are

¹⁷*The Methodist Magazine and Quarterly Review*, XIV (July, 1832), 341-342.

¹⁸*Michigan laws*, 1839, 91-92.

¹⁹*Catalogue* (Marshall, 1846).

²⁰*Michigan laws*, 1841, 16-18.

usually conferred by the best female colleges and seminaries of the highest rank" but this provision stipulated that nothing contained in the act should be so construed as to confer upon the institution the right to grant degrees to men.²¹ The school prospered under this arrangement and the enrollment grew rapidly. In the debates on education during the constitutional convention of 1850, Mr. N. Pierce contrasted the large enrollment at Albion with the small numbers at the University, adding that he would prefer that any sectarian religious society had care of the University than to have so few taught in it.²² Although the degree "Mistress of Arts" was conferred upon women from 1851 on, no degrees could be granted to men until the reorganization of the institution in 1861 under the General law of 1855.

The third denomination to take steps towards the foundation of an educational institution during the territorial period was the Presbyterian Church. In Michigan as elsewhere in the West the Presbyterians and Congregationalists at first worked together in establishing churches, missions, and colleges. The Presbyterian synod was organized in 1834; at its second annual meeting held at Adrian the following year steps were taken to establish a college.²³ The committee appointed by the Synod at first planned to establish a religious colony in connection with the proposed college, on the plan of Oberlin in Ohio and Knox in Illinois.²⁴ This plan was abandoned in 1836 and bids were sought from communities anxious to secure the location of the proposed college and willing to contribute financial aid. Marshall made the most attractive offer and it was decided to accept it. One of the men interested in getting the institution located in Marshall was John D. Pierce. He had come to Michigan in 1831 as an agent of the American Home Missionary Society and had organized a number of churches in Jackson, Eaton, and Calhoun counties, including

²¹*Michigan laws*, 1850, 22-23.

²²Shearman, Francis W., *Public instruction and school law* (Lansing, 1852), 255.

²³Minutes of the Synod of Michigan. Second meeting, 1835 (Ms. in Presbyterian headquarters, Detroit).

²⁴The minutes of the committee may be found in Williams, W. B., *History of Olivet College* (Olivet, 1901) 148 ff.

the one at Marshall.²⁵ In 1836 he was appointed Superintendent of Public Instruction under the new state constitution. Under plans formulated by Pierce and Isaac E. Crary a state system of education was set up including a University. The University, with its "Branches" was designed to take care of all the educational needs of the new state beyond the primary level. The Presbyterian college committee on 20 October, 1837, urged Presbyterians not to support the University,²⁶ while Pierce, after instituting inquiries among eastern educators, decided it would be unwise to grant college charters to denominational schools.²⁷ The legislature took no action during the 1838 session on the application of the Presbyterians for a college charter. During the 1839 session the issue was fought out and resulted in a compromise. The name "Michigan College", which the Presbyterian board desired to adopt was changed to "Marshall College". A college charter was granted on 16 April, 1839, but it was accompanied by so many limitations that the enterprise was seriously crippled. Degrees might be conferred only when the institution should have funds yielding an annual income of \$5,000 exclusive of tuition and contingent contributions, and the "primary degrees" were not to be conferred on any students who had not "passed through a course of studies, similar or equivalent to, and at least as thorough as that prescribed by the Regents of the University for candidates for the like degrees".²⁸ It is interesting to note that the University proper was not put into operation until over two years after this charter was granted. The above conditions, together with other stipulations, were not enough to entirely discourage the backers of the enterprise. A school was put into operation at Marshall, but no degrees were conferred, and, due to the sharp decline in land values, the resources of the school shrank to such an extent that it was abandoned after a few years. The charter of 1839

²⁵Hoyt, Charles O., and Ford, R. Clyde, *John D. Pierce, founder of the Michigan school system* (Ypsilanti, 1905), *passim*.

²⁶Williams, W. B., *op. cit.*, 153.

²⁷Shearman, F. W., *op. cit.*, 38-41; *Michigan Argus* (Ann Arbor), 8 and 22 Feb. and 1 March, 1838.

²⁸*Michigan laws*, 1839, 118-120.

had given the Presbyterian Church no formal control over the College; indeed, it appears that the board of trustees named in the charter consisted of men of different religious faiths. The Synod, at its 1842 meeting, declared that the enterprise was no longer theirs and that they disclaimed all concern or support for the institution.²⁹ The Presbyterians gave some support to Olivet in later years, but failed to take constructive steps towards the establishment of a college of their own until the 'eighties, when Alma was founded.³⁰ The denomination did, however, control and support two female seminaries, one at Kalamazoo (opened in 1867) and the other at Monroe (opened in 1850 and supported by the Presbyterians after about 1867).

At almost the same time that Marshall College was expiring the first steps were being taken to establish another college a few miles north of Marshall in what was then an unsettled area. Marshall College, started with the official backing of an important denominational body, -supported by prominent men, and located in a fast growing town on a main route of travel failed to survive, while Olivet, begun without formal church sanction, sponsored by no well-known man in the state, and situated in the backwoods, managed to perdure. Olivet owes its existence to the zeal of "Father" Shipherd, the founder of Oberlin College. Shipherd had earlier proposed to establish a manual labor school on a tract of land located near the present city of Lansing. A charter for "Grand River Seminary" was obtained,³¹ and a city was platted. The sum of \$10,000 was pledged, but due to the crash of land values most of the pledges remained unpaid. In the end the ambitious scheme had to be abandoned. Probably Shipherd had in mind a religious colony and college similar to Oberlin.³² In 1843 he was once more in Michigan, this time in the interest of Oberlin College. While exploring the wilds of Eaton county

²⁹Synod minutes, 1842, 18.

³⁰Minutes of the Synod of Michigan, 1873 (Detroit, 1873), 17; Minutes of the Synod, 1886 (Coldwater, 1886), 19-26.

³¹Shearman, F. W., *op. cit.*, 508-509.

³²Williams, W. B., "Two efforts to found colleges in Michigan", in *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, XXX (1906), 524-549.

he came upon a tract of land that seemed to him ideal for a college community. He persuaded some friends to aid him and purchased a considerable tract of land. The next year he brought a band of settlers to the spot and in the fall of 1844 the school was opened. An attempt was made in 1844 to secure a charter from the legislature, to no avail. Oberlin had a somewhat unsavory reputation as a center of abolitionism and radicalism; probably the legislators did not care to encourage a similar institution in Michigan. Besides, the school had no denominational backing, it appears; at least a careful search in the proceedings of the General Association of Congregational Churches of Michigan has revealed not the slightest mention of Olivet during these years and for some time afterward.

Though denied a charter, the school prospered. In 1846 a college charter was once more sought and again was refused by the legislature, but in 1848 an academy charter for "Olivet Institute" was granted.³³ Shortly after the passage of the General college law in 1855 Olivet became a college under its provisions.

Several institutions for the higher education of youth were established in Michigan during the 'forties by individuals and denominations espousing the various reform causes of the day. The two decades before the Civil War were years of great zeal for the betterment of society. Enthusiasts advocated a larger measure of democracy in all things. Temperance, women's rights, and abolition of slavery were hotly debated issues. Schisms within the Protestant churches resulted from disputes over these matters. Michigan lacked the southern element which the states bordering on the Ohio river included, and was in close contact with New England and New York, the source of most of the reform movements. Consequently this state was permeated with reform zeal. The major Protestant denominations passed extraordinarily strong resolutions

³³Williams, W. B., *History of Olivet*, 1-31; *Michigan laws*, 1848, 39-40.

³⁴McLeister, Ira Ford, *History of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of America* (Syracuse, N. Y., 1934), 28.

on slavery and temperance, as reference to the records of their annual meetings will reveal. Michigan also was a fertile ground for a number of smaller sects which were particularly concerned with reform. Among these were the Free-will Baptists, the Wesleyan Methodists, the Methodist Protestants, and the Friends. These churches all were associated with educational projects in the state. The schools thus started were especially associated with the reform movements, but the institutions started by members of the major Protestant bodies, especially Olivet and Kalamazoo, also were closely connected with the anti-slavery crusade, the war against the demon rum, and the improvement of the status of women in society.

Desiring to take a stronger stand against slavery, a group of twenty preachers and 600 laymen seceded from the Methodist Episcopal Church in Michigan in 1840 and organized themselves into a Conference bearing the name "Wesleyan Methodist Connection".³⁴ Before 1844 steps were taken to establish a seminary or academy,³⁵ and the school was opened at Leoni, a few miles east of Jackson, in the autumn of 1845. A charter was secured for the "Leoni Theological Institute" on 25 March, 1848.³⁶ Four days later another act of incorporation was passed for "Leoni Seminary".³⁷ Although no denomination was named in this charter, several of the trustees listed in the act of incorporation have been identified as leading members of the Methodist Protestant Church. A reference to "the Seminary" in the minutes of the Annual Conference of this denomination confirms the idea that "Leoni Seminary" was founded by the Methodist Protestants.³⁸ This denomination had separated in 1827 from the Methodist Episcopal Church on the issue of lay representation in the church affairs and the Michigan Annual Conference was organized in 1842. There is evidence that both the schools at Leoni went into operation. The Wesleyans changed the name of their school

³⁵*Ibid.*, 42-44.

³⁶*Michigan laws*, 1848, No. 110.

³⁷*Ibid.*, 172-174.

³⁸Minutes of the Michigan Annual Conference of the Protestant Methodist Church, Sixth meeting, 1847, and Eleventh meeting, 1852: Ms. in possession of the clerk of the Annual Conference of the Methodist Protestant Church.

in the early 'fifties to Michigan Union College, but apparently without legislative authorization.³⁹ The name suggests, and there is some other evidence to support the idea, that the Wesleyans and Methodist Protesfants merged their efforts at Leoni. The former church, however, remained in control.

Under the provisions of the law of 1855 a charter for Michigan Union College was obtained on 12 May, 1857. In 1858 this College graduated its first and only class. Financial difficulties caused the trustees to seek some community which would offer financial inducements to secure the location of the institution. Adrian was the successful bidder, the physical equipment of a movable sort being covertly transported there from Leoni. On 28 March, 1859 articles of incorporation for Adrian College were filed. Asa Mahan, a former president of Oberlin College, was elected president of the new college at Adrian.⁴⁰ The articles of incorporation provided that half the trustees should be Wesleyan Methodists but included a peculiar article which made the control of that denomination over the College contingent upon a certain measure of financial support.⁴¹ In 1865 and 1866 a movement arose to unite all non-Episcopal Methodists into a single denomination to be called the "Methodist Church". But a considerable body of Wesleyan Methodists, particularly in Michigan, opposed the merger and in the end it was not successful. As a result of the move, however, the Wesleyans lost heavily in membership and Adrian College became a Methodist Protestant college.⁴² From that time, up to the union of the northern and southern branches of the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Protestant Church in 1939, Adrian College remained a distinctively Methodist Protestant institution.

The anti-slavery movement is closely associated with a school operated in Lenawee county, near Adrian, in the 'forties and 'fifties, and supported by the Friends. This school was

³⁹Mayhew, Ira, *Michigan school reports, 1855-56-57* (Lansing, 1857), 414-417.

⁴⁰Kaufman, Albert W., "Early years of Adrian College", in *Michigan History Magazine*, XIII (Jan., 1929), 74 ff.

⁴¹Copy of the original articles of incorporation, in the Adrian College archives.

⁴²McLeister, I., *op. cit.*, 74 ff; Drinkhouse, Edward J., *History of Methodist reform* (Norwood, Mass., 1899), I, 472-476.

started by Mrs. Laura Haviland in 1836 and became well known because of its practice of admitting colored as well as white students. A charter was granted in 1847 and for a time the project prospered.⁴³ But "Raisin Institute", like so many of these early schools, lacked financial backing. Only through the unflagging efforts of Mrs. Haviland was it kept going.⁴⁴ During the Civil War the school was re-organized as the "Raisin Valley Seminary" and a new charter was secured placing it under the control of the Adrian Quarterly Meeting of Friends.⁴⁵ The school was still in operation in 1905 but has since passed out of existence.

An educational institution of more enduring significance was begun in the middle 'forties by the Freewill Baptists in Michigan. This sect had been founded by Benjamin Randall in 1780 as a protest against predestination as a part of the Baptist faith and was strongly anti-slavery. For many years it had a strong prejudice against an educated ministry, but this was breaking down in the decade of the 'forties. A state organization was formed in Michigan in 1839, and five years later a group of men from Calhoun county laid before the annual meeting a plan for founding a school. By a close vote the proposal was approved.⁴⁶ It was decided at a later meeting, held in Jackson, to establish the school at Spring Arbor and a committee was appointed to obtain a charter for "Michigan Central College". The school was opened in 1844 and a charter was granted by the legislature for Michigan Central College the following year. The charter did not confer upon the trustees the power to grant degrees, however.⁴⁷ But in 1850 an amendment to the charter, giving college powers, was approved.⁴⁸ This was a departure from the policy which had been followed since 1839 not to grant college charters. Limitations similar to those imposed upon Marshall College in

⁴³Michigan laws, 1847, 154-155.

⁴⁴Haviland, Laura, *A woman's life work* (Cincinnati, 1882), 9-34.

⁴⁵Annual report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for 1880 (Lansing, 1881), 343.

⁴⁶Patterson, John C., *History of the Freewill Baptist Church of Cook's Prairie* (Ms. in the Brown-Patterson papers at the University of Michigan).

⁴⁷Michigan laws, 1845, 36-38.

⁴⁸Michigan laws, 1850, 105-106.

1839 were included. In this case degrees were actually conferred. Not only men but also women received degrees from this institution. At least seven women were granted the Bachelor of Science degree in 1851 and 1852 and in the latter year the Bachelor of Arts degree was conferred upon Miss Livonia Benedict. These were the first full academic degrees to be granted to women in Michigan.⁴⁹ In 1853 it was decided to discontinue the College at Spring Arbor, due to the small amount of financial support which so small a place was able to give, and the trustees proceeded to sound out citizens in different Michigan cities for inducements to re-locate the institution.

At length it was determined to transfer the College to Hillsdale. But certain legal difficulties arose and citizens of Spring Arbor sought to prevent the movement of the institution from that place. It became apparent that a new charter would be necessary to make removal possible. The new state constitution of 1850, however, had prohibited special acts of incorporation except for municipalities.⁵⁰ The only hope was to induce the legislature to pass a *general* law for the incorporation of institutions of learning, under which Hillsdale College might be incorporated. Such a law was passed in 1855 and Hillsdale was the first college to become incorporated under its provisions. The doors of Hillsdale College were opened on 7 November, 1855. It prospered from the beginning and has become one of Michigan's leading church-related colleges.

Other denominations made less successful efforts to found colleges and academies prior to the Civil War. On the same day that the Marshall College charter was granted, the legislature also passed an act of incorporation for St. Philip's College, to be located at Hamtramck and to be under Roman Catholic control.⁵¹ The limitations upon the granting of degrees corresponded with those in the charter of Marshall College. This institution was opened and operated for five or six

⁴⁹*Catalogue of Michigan Central College for 1852*: Michigan Historical Colls. of the University of Michigan.

⁵⁰Article XV, section one: *Compiled laws* (Lansing, 1857), I, 70.

⁵¹*Michigan laws*, 1839, 118-120.

years, but, so far as is known, granted no degrees.⁵² On the same day that Michigan Central College obtained an amendment to its charter giving the trustees college powers, a college charter, with similar limitations, was granted to "St. Mark's College", an institution to be located in Grand Rapids and to be under the control of the Protestant Episcopal Church.⁵³ This school, also, was short-lived, although it opened under encouraging circumstances and issued a catalogue in 1850 listing 116 students.⁵⁴

It is interesting to note that the legislature granted only four college charters by acts of special incorporation. Two of these were approved on 16 April, 1839, and the other two were approved on 20 March, 1850. This peculiar fact suggests that there may have been a combined effort made in each instance by the two denominations concerned. However that may be, none of the four survived under the charters then granted and only one of them (Michigan Central College) succeeded in reorganizing under a new charter. The settled policy of the legislature seems to have been opposed to the incorporation of denominational colleges and favored the monopolization by the University of the right to confer degrees. This policy was strikingly in contrast to that followed in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin, where legislatures seemed willing to charter any sort of a denominational college.⁵⁵

The church-related academies in the 'forties and 'fifties, as has been said, were nuclei of the anti-slavery, temperance, and women's rights reform movements. These reform groups flocked to the banner of the Republican party when it was organized in Michigan in 1854. In the election of that year the party was successful in electing the governor and a majority in both houses of the legislature. It was natural therefore that this legislature should pass in 1855, in addition to a new prohibition law and resolutions against the spread of

⁵²Mary Rosalita, S., *op. cit.*, 303.

⁵³*Michigan laws*, 1850, 96-98.

⁵⁴Trowbridge, C. C., "History of the Episcopal Church in Michigan", in *Mich. Pioneer and Historical Colls.*, III (1881), 219.

⁵⁵There was some hesitancy in the matter in the case of Illinois in the 'thirties, but it was not lasting.

slavery, an amendment to the charter of Kalamazoo Literary Institute granting this Baptist institution college powers and changing its name to Kalamazoo College, and also that it should pass a general law for the incorporation of academies and colleges which would make it possible for other church-related schools in the state to become colleges.⁵⁶ Although this act contained provisions designed to guarantee that any institution conferring degrees should have sufficient resources and curricular offerings to enable it to do good work, the church-related schools seem to have experienced little difficulty in complying with the conditions set forth in the law.

During the period following the Civil War other denominations established schools and colleges. A number of Roman Catholic institutions were founded. The Seventh Day Adventists established a college at Battle Creek in the 'seventies and it was very successful. It was decided to move the college to Berrien Springs in 1901 and reorganize it as Emmanuel Missionary College. Hope College, an enterprise of the Reformed Church in America, grew out of an academy started at Holland in 1851. The Christian Reformed Church founded a Theological Seminary at Grand Rapids in 1876; Calvin College developed as an adjunct to this school. The Free Methodists have maintained a school at Spring Arbor since 1873. Among the many abortive attempts to set up permanent institutions of learning, was the project supported by the Congregational Church to establish a college at Benzonia.

This brief survey will serve to indicate the extent to which the several ecclesiastical organizations and men related to them have contributed to the cause of higher education in Michigan. Most of these schools, established in the early years of Michigan history, are still in operation. The only benefit which they receive from the state is the exemption from taxation which is granted them. In return, they graduate

⁵⁶*Michigan laws*, 1855, 51 and 138.

each year hundreds of young men and young women, who, in addition to a liberal education, have been given an insight into those religious ideals and precepts which actuated the men who sacrificed so much in years gone by that these colleges might live.

HISTORICAL NOTES

THE Autumn Colors Tour, Newaygo County, is an annual event of growing interest to Michigan people and to all who respond to "the lure of the autumn woods" ablaze with color in this season. "The reds of sumac and maples herald the coming pageant each October. The mitten-shaped leaves of the sassafras take on the tints of flame and then turn to pure yellow, matching the elms; and the oaks, turning to rich burgundy, complete a riot of color in which the only greens are thickets of pine or cedar. The tour starts each year at Grant on the south and at Fremont on the west."

So writes Mr. S. S. Nisbet, secretary of the Fremont Chamber of Commerce, in the Summer number of the Magazine, describing the origin and development of the Colors Tour idea and announcing the fall convention of the State Historical Society and the Michigan Historical Commission to be held at Fremont, October 11, jointly, with the Autumn Colors Tour.

The program of this convention will center about Newaygo County and the neighboring region. There will be exhibits and pictures of the early lumbering days and of the development of dairy husbandry in that region. An afternoon program is planned for "ye old timers" who will be invited to give reminiscences. From 3 to 5 o'clock there will be a session for teachers and researchers in Michigan history. On the general program in the evening Senators Arthur H. Vandenburg and Prentiss Brown and others will address the convention. Details will be announced by press and radio from time to time and will be sent direct to all who are specially interested if you will drop a post card to the Michigan Historical Commission, Lansing, Michigan.

THE Maumee Valley Historical Convention which has been mentioned from time to time in recent issues of the Magazine promises to be one of the major historical events of 1940 in the Middle West. Remember the dates, September 27-29.

This great historical celebration will commemorate the

scenes and events centering in the Maumee Valley which are at the foundation of the historical development of the states of Michigan, Ohio and Indiana and the Province of Ontario, Canada.

It should cultivate and deepen our pride in the historical heritage which is the common possession of these four great commonwealths. Incidentally it is an opportunity to enjoy for a brief season the golden autumn scenery of one of America's loveliest river valleys in pleasant association with men and women of good will representing the two great North American democracies on the scenes of their ancient battle grounds and there to strengthen the ties of peace and concord which now for a century and a quarter have maintained inviolate the world's longest unguarded frontier.

Promoting this event are the Michigan Historical Commission, the State Historical Society of Michigan, the Detroit Historical Society, the Ontario Historical Society, the Ohio Archeological and Historical Society, the Fort Wayne Historical Society, the Indiana Society of Pioneers, and numerous other groups and organizations, including faculty members of a dozen leading universities and colleges of this area.

The celebration will begin with a Friday evening program at Toledo, September 27, followed by an all day series of programs on Saturday at Fort Wayne, concluding with a Sunday tour and programs at Defiance, Fallen Timbers, Fort Meigs, and Fort Miamis.

Dr. M. M. Quaife of the Detroit Historical Society is General chairman.

THE known resources of Michigan a century ago are interestingly presented in an official memorandum by George Ramsay, 9th Earl of Dalhousie, dated 1823. He was then Governor-General of Canada, afterwards made commander-in-chief in India, having been one of Wellington's generals. The memorandum deals with the resources of Canada and recommends the conditions of the adjoining State of Michigan to

Canadians. We are indebted for it to the Honorable William Renwick Riddell, Justice of Appeal, Ontario. Internal evidence points to the Detroit *Gazette* as the original source. Among the most important articles appear the following:

“Agriculture Articles:—Wool, Flax, Hemp, Tobacco, Wine (currant). With respect to the raising of sheep, perhaps no country affords more facilities. The market for Wool is uniform, and not subject to the fluctuations in prices, which many other articles experience.

Flax and Hemp are always good articles in the Atlantic market, and their bulk is so small in comparison to their value, that they will always bear transportation to a distance. We have millions of acres of as good Hemp land as there is in the world; and we hope that our farmers will introduce the cultivation of this article the next year.

Tobacco is an article that has already been cultivated successfully on the Canada side of the river, and the growth and quality of it have been admired by every planter acquainted with the raising of that article.

Currant Wine.—We are informed by the eastern papers that a plantation of forty acres near Providence, R. I., will yield 200 pipes of wine yearly. Perhaps in no country can be seen such a luxuriant growth of fruit of every description common to the climate, as in this territory; the currant bushes, in particular, are astonishingly productive.

Manufactured Articles.—Potashes, Iron, Glass, Woolen Goods, Linen Goods, Rope, Sail Cloth, Tar, Salt, Oil, Distilled Spirits. Every one of these articles might be made for home consumption and exportation: the territory affords every facility for the manufacturing of all of them.

Articles of Commerce.—Fish, Fur, Copper, Gypsum. The Fish of the north-western Straits are pronounced superior to any other. Their number is inexhaustible; and were the fishing business carried on systematically, this would be one of the most productive sources of wealth.

Furs, to a large amount, are almost daily departing from

our wharves; we can only regret that the whole profits of this trade are not retained in the territory.

The Copper of Lake Superior will shortly be an important item of our commerce. This metal is found in so perfect a state about the Ontonagon River, that it will enable those who embark in the business to sell it cheaper than it can be procured from any other quarter.

Of Gypsum we have a great abundance of an excellent quality, which will probably become an article for exportation. There are many other sources of wealth in our country, to which the attention of the enterprising cannot be directed too soon."

IT is interesting that the first crop of Rosen rye, now nationally known, was grown on the farm at Michigan State College in East Lansing. There is some history back of this. That crop was planted in 1909 as a winter crop. It was of Russian origin. A few years before, a well educated young Russian, by name of Joseph A. Rosen, had fled from his homeland because of political difficulties. In 1908 he graduated from what was then Michigan Agricultural College. He had noticed that Michigan rye was far less luxuriant than rye grown in Russia. In that year there was received at the College a pound of Russian rye, which was presently tested in Michigan soil. The experimental piece of ground was just east of the campus. The experiment was an immediate success. The new rye was better and the yield was twice as large. The records show that by 1912 the fame of Rosen rye was beginning to spread. By 1920 Michigan was leading the Union in production of rye. It is estimated that 85 per cent of the rye now raised in the state is at least a grade of Rosen. As for Rosen himself, sometime after college he is known to have returned to Russia where he became an agricultural official of some standing, but beyond that the college authorities do not know what has happened to him.

ONE hundred years ago, 1840, the Federal Survey was completed for the entire lower peninsula of Michigan.

One of the first services which the Federal government did for early Michigan, after acquiring title to the lands from the Indians, was to survey the lands. "The Federal Surveys in Michigan," reports Mr. C. E. Millar of the Land Division, State Department of Conservation, "were made under the ordinance of May 20, 1785, and later ordinances which provided for the method of locating and disposing of lands in the western territory. The ordinances provided for a survey of the land into townships six miles square, containing thirty-six sections of one mile square which 'shall be numbered respectively, beginning with the number one in the northeast section and proceeding west and east alternately through the township with progressive numbers till the thirty-sixth be completed.'"

In 1815 Edward Tiffin who was surveyor general for the Northwest with headquarters at Chillicothe, Ohio, reported to the national government about Michigan lands that there "would not be more than one acre out of a hundred, if there would be one out of a thousand that would, in any case, admit of cultivation," for, he said, "the intermediate space between swamps and lakes, which is probably nearly one half of the country, is, with a very few exceptions, a poor barren, sandy land, on which scarcely any vegetation grows, except very small scrubby oaks."

The purpose of the survey upon which this report was based was to promote the early disposal of the Michigan bounty lands authorized by congress for compensation to the soldiers of the War of 1812.

As a result of the Tiffin report, President Madison recommended to congress, that since the lands in Michigan were covered with swamps and lakes or were otherwise so unfit for cultivation that only a small proportion could be applied to the intended grants, other lands should be designated to take the place of Michigan's proportion of the military bounty

lands. Accordingly three-fourths of that amount were ordered to be surveyed in the rival state of Illinois.

The government's disfavor towards Michigan lands became widely known in the East. School geographies contained maps with the words "Interminable Swamp" across the interior of Michigan. The immediate effects upon settlement were of course unfavorable. The traveler William Darby, writing from Detroit in August 1818, says that during more than a month in which he had been travelling between Geneva (New York) and Detroit, he had seen hundreds going west, but "not one in fifty with the intention of settling in Michigan Territory." Thus on account of a surveyor's report, the tide of immigration turned aside from Michigan with its "interminable swamp" and "sand hills" and favored Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. It was not until about 1825 that the effects of the Tiffin report in the East had begun to wane.

Lewis Cass, who became Governor of Michigan Territory in 1813, bitterly criticised the Tiffin report to the national government. Cass accompanied his criticism with urgent advice for an immediate surveying of lands in the vicinity of Detroit and the establishing of a land office as soon as the surveys should advance far enough. He circulated a petition, which was signed by prominent men in the Territory, and new surveys were begun in 1816. By 1818 practically all the land in Wayne, Monroe, Macomb and St. Clair counties was ready for market, and a land office was opened at Detroit for sales.

As the surveys advanced and more land was ready for sale, new land offices were established. One was fixed at Monroe in 1823, representing a movement of population into the Raisin River valley. One at White Pigeon was set up in 1831, indicating need of service for people coming out along the Detroit-Chicago turnpike. The land office at Kalamazoo was established in 1834 to take care of settlers moving out along the Territorial road and the Kalamazoo river. Settlers moving out from Detroit toward Saginaw obtained a land office at Flint in 1836, and in the same year one was established at Ionia for settlers moving into the Grand River region.

"By 1840 all of the lower peninsula," says Mr. Millar, "had been completed, and by 1848 the upper peninsula was completed. However, due to inaccuracies in the first surveys, resurveys are being made in the state from time to time."

The rectangular system of survey, besides its obvious importance in enabling settlers to locate their lands, was convenient for local government. The prime meridian runs north from the southern boundary of the state between Lenawee and Hillsdale counties to the Straits of Mackinac a little east of Cheboygan. The base line follows along the northern boundary of Wayne county due west to Lake Michigan, and forms the boundary between counties throughout its entire length. At a distance of 24 miles on either side, other parallels form similar boundaries throughout most of their length. Eastern and western county boundaries are formed by meridians paralleling the prime meridian at right angles to the base line, in many cases making counties almost exact squares. In like manner, parallels and meridians divide the counties into squares of six miles on a side, forming "government townships," which in most cases have become units for township governments.

The field notes of the surveyors, deposited at Lansing in 1857 are of great importance for knowledge of early geographic conditions. "The surveyors while in the field," says Mr. Millar in concluding his report, "were required to take notes on all natural and physical changes of importance that they observed along their traverses. These features are also shown on the plats and include lakes and streams, waterfalls, rock outcrops, precipitous slopes and hills, swamps, and bogs, potholes and depressions, types of forest growth, prairies, windfalls, and a general classification of the soil conditions and topography."

The "quotes" in this note are taken from a report made by Mr. Millar to the editor of the Magazine as a service from the Land Division of the Department of Conservation. For the relation of the Federal surveys to settlement, readers will find

further discussion in the editor's volume, *Economic and Social Beginnings of Michigan*, a publication of the Michigan Historical Commission.

WHOEVER named the streets of Grand Ledge, home of the late Governor Frank D. Fitzgerald, showed a tendency to think in terms of the nation. Eight streets bear names of presidents: Washington, Adams, Jefferson, Madison, Jackson, Harrison, Taylor, and Lincoln. Other names were borrowed from persons of national eminence: Franklin, Emerson, Scott, Sumner, Willard, Marquette and Booth. Some streets are named for early pioneers of the locality, such as Kent, Russell, Kennedy, Lamson, Jenne and Halbert. Much history, biography and romance is wrapped up in street names, good subjects for study in English and history classes.

HISTORIC Fort Wilkins at Copper Harbor near the eastern tip of Keweenaw peninsula, Lake Superior, is being restored as closely as possible to its original form by WPA. "Copper Harbor was the port of entry for copper miners when this region was first opened up to systematic mining after the Chippewa treaty of 1843," writes Prof. L. A. Chase in the *Michigan History Magazine*. "The establishment of Fort Wilkins at this point in the year following the signing of the treaty was to avoid trouble between the newcomers and the Indians," he says. The restoration work is under supervision of W. J. Kingscott, Superintendent of Michigan State Parks. He states, "The buildings were restored several years ago when they were taken into the state park system but the foundations later began to crumble and much repair work became necessary." We learn from Mr. Kingscott that the project includes a water system, a new entrance road and a new concession building.

CONSERVATIONISTS and outdoorsmen are taking keen interest in the old British post on Drummond Island known as Fort Collier, of interest to tourists and to Michigan

and Canadian people in general. It was at this spot that the British flag for the last time was flown over Michigan soil. Today the crumbling ruins of the old fort lie hidden in the island thickets unknown except to a few. There has been some talk of eventually establishing a state park on this site. In that case of course the interests of the cottagers in the vicinity will need to be equitably considered.

The story of the fort, built by the British in 1815 and turned over to the United States army as late as 1828 is told in the history books. The post was abandoned by the United States and much of the material was taken to Fort Mackinac on Mackinac Island. But many relics can still be seen, among them the fort roads, crumbling stone chimneys, and grave stones in the fort cemetery.

Mr. George Bishop of the Upper Peninsula Development Bureau is said to be much interested in the talk about the park project, which doubtless will have a wide popular appeal, for among all the romantic and historic spots of the Old Northwest hardly one can boast a more dramatic story.

WHO told Major Gladwin about the plot of Pontiac to wipe out the British force at Detroit in 1763?

"William Tucker," answers Mr. Robert F. Eldredge, attorney at Mt. Clemens, in a note to the editor.

"What are Tucker's claims to this distinction?" Discussing this Mr. Eldredge says:

In a number of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Helen F. Humphrey published a rather exhaustive article on "The Identity of Gladwin's Informant", and told of the various legends concerning the matter and among others mentioned William Tucker, but failed to give any facts that tend to substantiate his claim to credit. She does, however, very emphatically state the historical significance and great importance attached to the fact that Major Gladwin was warned in advance of the attack. "It is difficult to exaggerate the importance of the fact that Detroit was then saved from the

Indians." "It is hard to resist the conclusion that by so doing, he, [Gladwin's Informant] in all probability saved the whole Northwest for the English." "The person who disclosed them [Pontiac's plans] was responsible for the saving of the only British outpost in the lake country." She tells quite in detail the story of Catherine, an Indian woman, who until recently has generally been given the credit, of whom John Porteous in his *Journal* spoke as "an old squaw of the Pottowatamy nation"; whom the Indians, suspecting her of being the informant of Gladwin, brought before Gladwin to be told by him that she had not been the source of his learning of the plot, adding that he had promised never to reveal the source of his knowledge but that it came from one of their (the Indians') own race.

It seems that Gladwin kept his promise and never did tell the source of his knowledge. The accusing Indians, doubting Gladwin's word, and evidently hoping to torture a confession from Catherine "carried her to their camp where she got a general flogging" starting it with "three strokes by Pontiac which laid her flat on the ground."

The passing years seem, in the case of "Catherine", to have reversed their usual effect, and in Parkman's *History of the Conspiracy of Pontiac*, written many years later, the "old squaw of the Pottowatamy nation" had become a "beautiful Indian maiden, an Ojibwa girl who could boast of more beauty than is common in the wigwam" who out of love for the Major betrayed the secret of her race. But even then, Parkman cautiously added, "if there be truth in tradition". And in a later edition, in foot notes, he admitted strong suspicions of the truth of the "Catherine" story, and mentions William Tucker as a possible source of Gladwin's knowledge of the plot of Pontiac, but states no authority for this nor facts bearing upon its probability. Sheldon's *History of Michigan* has Catherine warning Gladwin in the morning and Tucker in the afternoon of the same day but gives no details.

On the testimony of Henry Conner,—the prominent son of the Moravian Conner family, after whom Conner's Creek was

named,—poor Catherine, (the real one) was responsible for the spoiling of a boilerful of half-made maple sugar, by falling into the boiling mixture while drunk and being thereby scalded to death. But the world loves a lover, and the Gladwin-Catherine legend has lived and finds expression in the painting that hangs on the wall in the Burton Historical Collection.

Now let us turn to the story told by William Tucker to his children after he had become one of the earliest English settlers of what is now Macomb County. He was one of two brothers who while mere lads were taken from their parents in Virginia by a band of Chippeway Indians and brought to this region. He was adopted by an Indian family and grew to maturity as a member of that family, which included at least one girl younger than Tucker, between whom there existed a brotherly and sisterly affection. Tucker's foster parents were among the Indians living in Detroit in 1763, but it cannot be said whether or not they were in sympathy with Pontiac's schemes. Tucker at least had no thought of danger when he planned a trip for gathering furs. Before starting, he paid a farewell visit to the home of his Indian foster parents, and told of his plan to go the next day to Canada to secure some moccasins he had ordered from an Indian woman famed for her skill in making them. As he left the camp of his foster parents, the sister followed him out, offered him some moccasins and urged that he start on his proposed trip at once and not go to Canada, evidently realizing that a sight of the Indian forces there gathered would make him aware of the danger that was impending. She was so earnest and insistent that his suspicions were aroused, and by questioning her he finally obtained full information as to Pontiac's plans, which he promptly revealed to Gladwin.

If this story told by Tucker to his children years later when all danger of revenge was passed was true, is it not plain why Gladwin refused to disclose how he received his warning? To have allowed a suspicion of the source of his information to be aroused in the minds of Pontiac's followers would have meant the most barbarous torturing by them of probably every

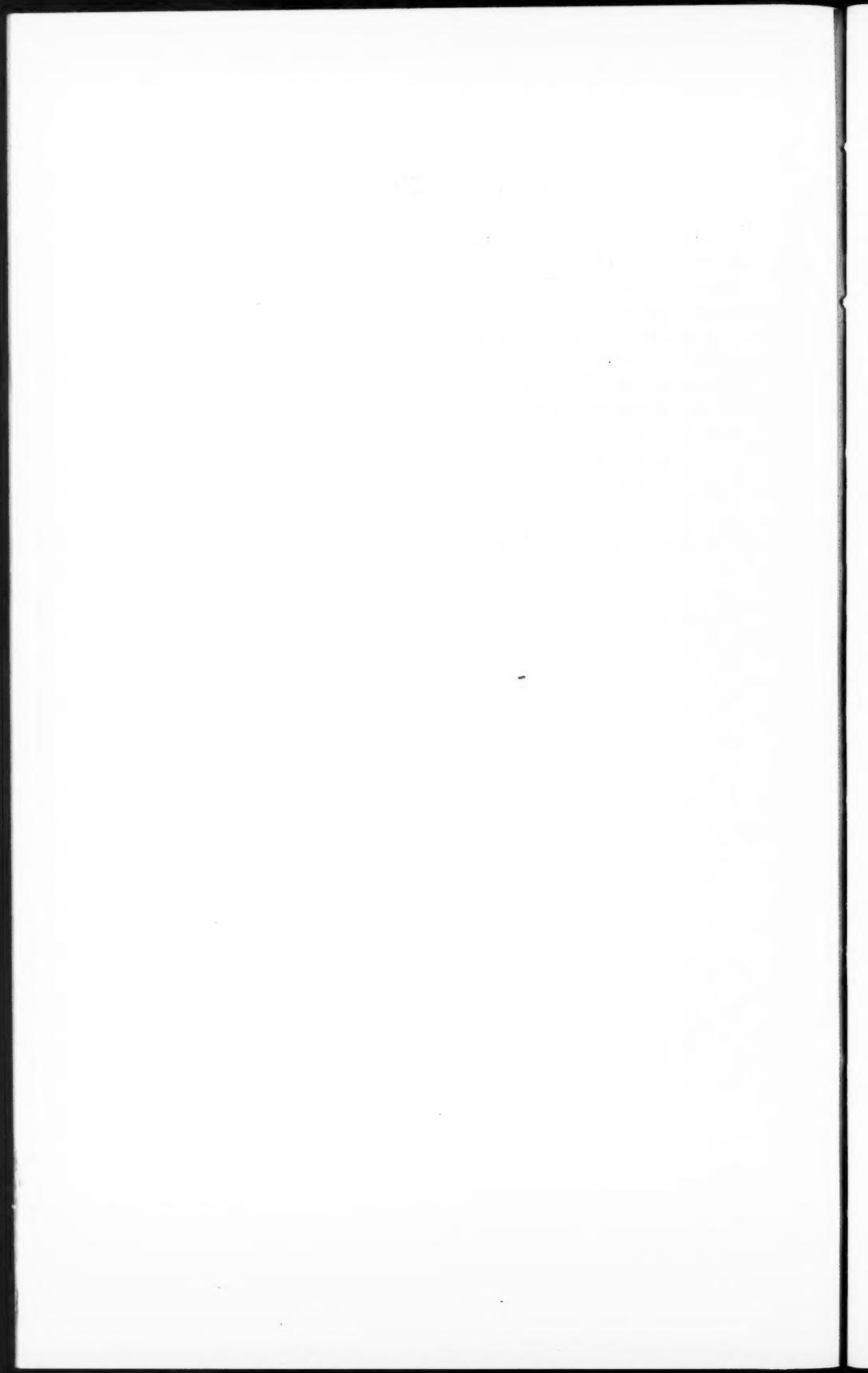
member of the family of Tucker's foster parents. Gladwin and his men had to hear enough of the heart-rending shrieks of the victims of the Indian barbarities, without inviting more. And how natural, too, it was that the Indian foster-sister would have tried to save her loved brother from the slaughter she believed was in store for the occupants of the Fort. Her motive was not a betrayal of her own race, but the hope to save her foster-brother and to keep him from going to Canada and seeing the forces there gathered; to get him away on his fur-buying trip before the Fort was attacked. It was only when she could not succeed in this that she yielded to the insistence of her older "brother" and told the whole story. This enabled Tucker to give Gladwin the warning that helped save Detroit.

Tucker never appears to have sought any reward or compensation for what he did. His story explains why Gladwin kept his word and never revealed the source of his information. (Gladwin left this part of the world within a couple of years after the seige and never returned). It explains just why the mystery of who was the informant of Gladwin was not cleared up at the time and justifies the conclusion of Miss Humphrey that "if he, [Gladwin], did not say who his informant was, it was probably because he did not want it known"; and she might have added, as he said to the Indians who brought Catherine before him, "he had promised never to reveal it."

William Tucker, by his knowledge of the Indian nature and habits and by his honest and fair dealings with them, so won and kept their confidence and friendship that the chiefs of the Chippeway tribes in later years joined in a deed to him of a tract of hundreds of acres lying on the north side of the Clinton River and along the Lake St. Clair, back therefrom for miles. This deed still exists in the possession of our present Register of Deeds, one of Tucker's numerous descendants. On this tract so deeded to him, Tucker, about 1780, built a home for himself and settled there with his wife whom he had married in Virginia on a visit to his native home. Here he raised a large family of children to whom he told this story

of his being the informant of Major Gladwin, although he never appears to have tried to gain any personal advantage or notoriety for himself therefrom. His Indian deed, like all such obtained from Indians, was not recognized as of any legal validity by the United States authorities, but five private claims were granted out of the lands embraced therein to five of his sons who had built homes and made improvements on adjacent portions thereof. Selfridge Field is included in the territory covered by this Indian deed.

William Tucker sought no "Kudos" for himself for what he did but history owes his memory a belated tribute that truth calls for, and a recognition of the part he played in saving Michigan for the British and thus for the United States.



AMONG THE BOOKS

THE MICHIGAN CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTIONS OF 1835-36: DEBATES AND PROCEEDINGS. Edited by Harold M. Dorr. University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 1940, pp. 626. Price \$5.

A scholarly and comprehensive presentation of the minutes, journals, debates, committee reports, and supporting papers of the three constitutional conventions of 1835-36. The problems surmounted by the editor illustrate the need of research for scattered materials of our early history before they are irretrievably lost or destroyed. Of the papers here printed, the journals, committee reports, and supporting papers are probably fairly complete, thanks to the newspapers of the day. The early American conventions, both national and state, appear to have been careless about officially and fully reporting their proceedings. The Federal Constitutional Convention of 1787 held its sessions in secret and failed adequately to report the debates on the United States Constitution. Thanks to Madison's private journal we have the debates preserved in condensed form, but the whole history of American constitutional development has been affected by the lack of full and accurate reports of that great convention's discussions of moot questions. The reports of the debates of the 1835-36 Michigan constitutional conventions are fragmentary, not having been officially reported and the press reports are not verbatim. The record is barren of discussions on such important subjects as banking, capital punishment, organization of the judiciary. In the editorial work Mr. Dorr has realized that rules of style do not have the fixity of law and he has used excellent judgment. A most satisfying performance is his introduction, some fifty pages. The volume is a worthy contribution to commemoration of Michigan's century of statehood. Mr. Dorr is a faculty member of the Political Science Department of the University of Michigan.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MATHEMATICAL WORKS PRINTED IN AMERICA THROUGH 1850. Compiled and edited by Louis C. Karpinski. The University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 1940, pp. 697.

Lists 1092 different mathematical titles published in America before 1850 and some 3000 in all editions of these titles. Journals and newspapers listing mathematical articles are also included.

Two of the items concern Michigan. On September 18, 1838, entry was made in Michigan Territory for George Willson's *A Practical and Theoretical System of Arithmetic*, with the imprint, "Seventh edition, revised and corrected; Canandaigua, J. D. Bemis and Son, C. Morse, Detroit." This imprint appears on the cover of the fifth edition (at

Harvard) of 1838, published by C. Morse in Canandaigua in 1838. The second Michigan item is M. N. Halsey's *A Complete Tableau of Interest . . . at Seven Per Centum . . .* published in 1850 by the Ingals Power Press Print of Adrian; one copy is located, at the Library of Congress.

Under Journals, the textbooks in mathematics used at the University of Michigan in 1840 and those used in the state are listed, as reported by the State Superintendents of Public Instruction John D. Pierce, Sawyer, Ira Mayhew, and Francis W. Shearman. Superintendent Ira Mayhew had a particular interest in mathematics. He was the author of a highly successful work on bookkeeping and in 1847 a full-page advertisement in the *Northwestern Educator* of the Jeremiah Day and J. B. Thomson series of arithmetics was accompanied by a letter of praise written by Mayhew.

The volume contains reproductions of some 850 title pages. There are some 200 pages of text material, largely of the early Spanish American and colonial textbooks. The volume is dedicated to the American libraries. Prof. Karpinski is a teacher of mathematics at the University of Michigan.

THE WARS OF THE IROQUOIS: A STUDY IN TERRITORIAL TRADE RELATIONS. By George T. Hunt. University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, Wis., 1940, pp. 209. Price \$3.

The first satisfactory history of this remarkable people. Specially interesting to Michigan for its story of the Hurons. Most of Chapter VIII, "The Upper Canada and Michigan Tribes", deals with Michigan. The book is well written, contains an extensive bibliography, three important appendices. The documentation is careful and thorough. The author is Assistant Professor of History in Western Reserve University.

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MICHIGAN HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS — (40 vols.). Composed of documents, papers and pioneer stories. Volumes 1-36, and the 2 index volumes are out of print. Volume 39 contains a brief subject-and-author index to the series.

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(out of print).

BULLETINS.—1-16.—A few copies available.

MISCELLANEOUS PUBLICATIONS

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